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CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

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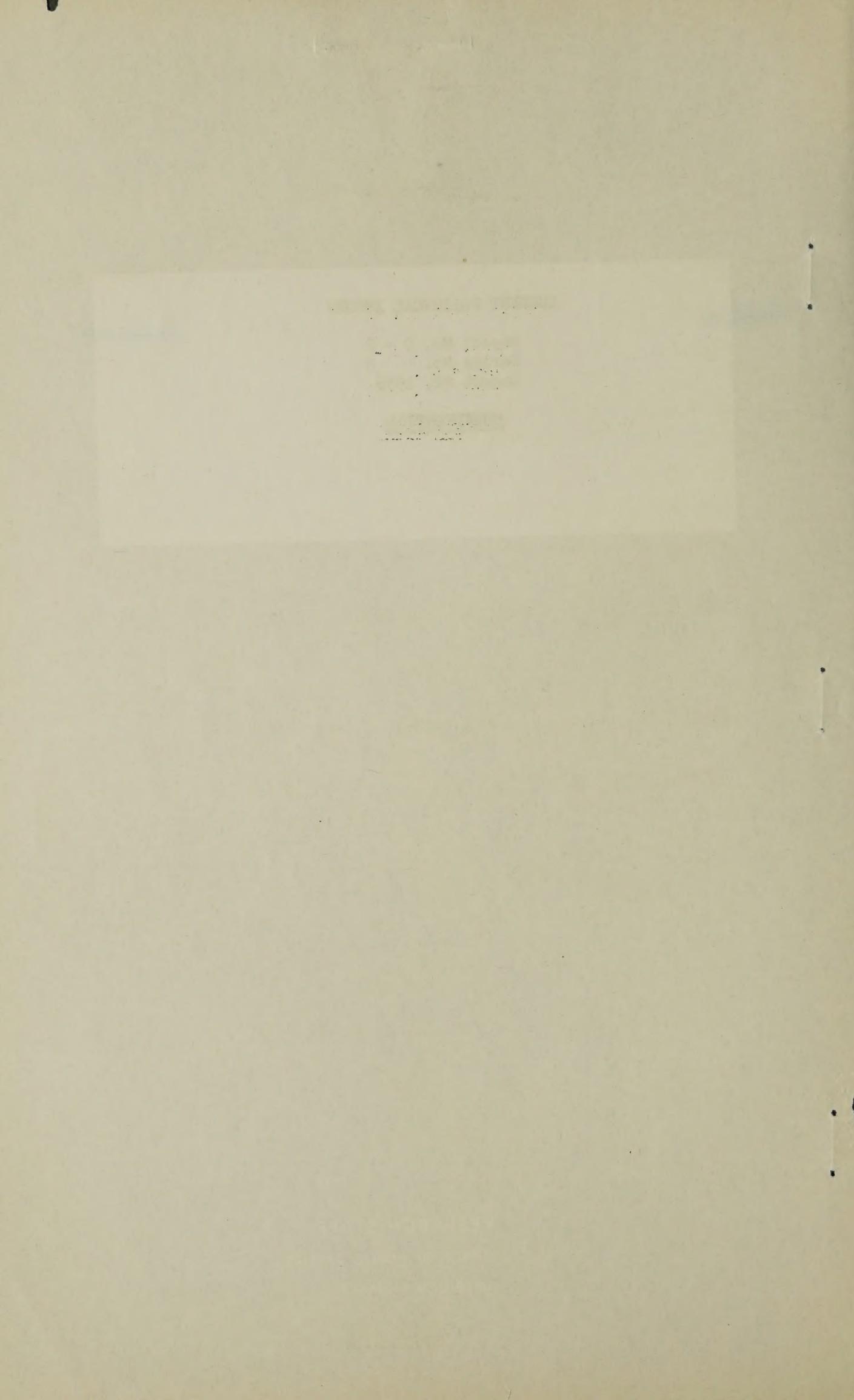


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INTRODUCTION

While the date of the next Bundestag election is still over a year off, the political parties in West Germany are increasingly focusing their attention upon it. "Issues" and "party positions" are being hammered out with a careful eye on what is considered to have the best appeal to the German voter. As these stands are taken and become subjects of public, or press concern, the Research Staff launches public opinion surveys to determine the extent and nature of public reaction to such stands. Inasmuch as many of the issues over which West German politicians are at odds (rearmament, conscription, how to achieve reunification, allegiance to NATO, etc.) are also matters of some interest to U.S. foreign policy makers, West German attitudes and inclinations are more than purely internal German affairs.

The present report is the second in a series of studies which will be conducted until the Federal elections are over in September 1957. Each report will cover topical issues currently being debated. In this report, the reader will find the man-in-the-street's assessment of:

The position of Adenauer
The Conscription Issue
Reunification

Because of necessary limitations, material has been included in the Appendix (rather than in the body of the report) on the political orientation of the various segments of the population, as well as a separate analysis of the opinions of political party adherents to the same issues covered in the main report.

Interviewing for this survey was done between July 18 and August 6, 1956, and consisted of a strict probability sample of 1,784 cases of West Germans 18 years of age or older. The field work was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

S U M M A R YSection I. - The Present Position of Adenauer and His Government

The level of popular satisfaction with the activities of the Adenauer government as well as the Chancellor's personal popularity is about as high as it has been in the past year. There has been no appreciable increase in the number of those dissatisfied with either.

The basis for his supporters, as well as his critics, continues to be his domestic policy and his personality.

Section II. - The Conscription Issue

Among that six-tenths with an opinion concerning the plans for a 500,000 man army, more favor at least that number than want it to be a lower figure.

Opinion appears evenly divided over the question of a volunteer or draft army. Those wanting only volunteers advance as their main argument the thesis that "no one should be forced to serve against his will". Of the three possible lengths of draft service - 12, 18, or 24 months - the 12 month period is found to be the most palatable.

Section III. - Reunification

The appeal of an all-German Assembly is so strong that a majority approve of the proposal that both East and West Germany should elect representatives to such an assembly, even though the phrase each in its own way was included.

On the other extreme, a similar majority disapproved of the proposition that no discussions should be held because of present circumstances.

By assuming that almost every German is for reunification, as a general proposition, nine possible prices for obtaining it were advanced. In only one instance did a majority accept the idea - that of having NATO forces leave West Germany, if Russian forces would leave East Germany.

The West Germans would not accept:

- Heavier tax burdens
- Food rationing
- East Zone Leaders as Conferees
- East Zone Leaders in all-German government
- Non-democratic form of government
- Non-free elections
- Loss of Oder-Neisse territory

They indicated that they might possibly be induced to accept a shortage of consumer goods.

Section IV. - Party Preference

The CDU and SPD are running neck and neck in party popularity at the present time - but if an election were held now the 31% who say that they have no party preference, or have no opinion, would decide the issue.

Adenauer's role in the coming Bundestag elections does not seem to be a vital one in popular opinion. At least eight out of ten CDU adherents would remain faithful, even without him. Only 4% of CDU partisans say that they would defect. On the other hand, this loss may be more than offset by gains from among those presently not CDU inclined.

Section I. - The Present Position of Adenauer
and His Government

SATISFACTION WITH THE ADENAUER GOVERNMENT STILL HIGH.....

General satisfaction with the activities of Chancellor Adenauer's government is still quite high. Although the actual percentage recorded in the current survey (64%) is slightly lower than that found before, and the percentage saying they are dissatisfied is also slightly higher (20%), the differences are within the normal range of sample fluctuation (when compared with the results from April 1956 and April 1955). The results of September 1955 reflected a new high for the Adenauer government chiefly because of the popular delirium over the release of the German POWs from Russia secured by the Chancellor at that time.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?" (IF "Satisfied": Very Satisfied or fairly satisfied?) (IF "Dissatisfied": Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)

	West Germany				
	Aug 1952 (1195)	June 1953 (740)	July 1953 (625)	June 1954 (599)	Nov 1954 (654)
Very satisfied	11%	19%	18%	36%	34%
Fairly satisfied	47	50	54	37	41
Dissatisfied	18	14	13	10	12
Very dissatisfied	5	3	2	3	2
No opinion	19	14	13	14	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	April 1955 (843)	Sept 1955 (797)	April 1956 (1874)	Aug 1956 (1784)	
Very satisfied	19%)	69	25%)	77	14%)
Fairly satisfied	50	52	54	68	50
Dissatisfied	14	18	10	12	13
Very dissatisfied	4	2	3	16	4
No opinion	13	11	16	16	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	

DOMESTIC POLICY IS TARGET OF THOSE DISSATISFIED....

The focus of that small group which is dissatisfied with the Adenauer government is clearly his domestic policy in one aspect or another (18%). Very few criticisms are made of his foreign policy (4%).

Among the criticisms of the Adenauer government's domestic policies concern with the new German army and with aspects of the socio-economic measures are equally prominent (8% each).

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?

IF "Dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied":
 "What are you dissatisfied with? Could you give an example?"

West GermanyDOMESTIC POLICY

(18%)

Establishment of a German army:

5%

"We don't need a Federal army."

"The setting up of a new German army is unnecessary."

"I think it's wrong to raise an army while German soldiers are still being kept in Russia."

Social problems (Primarily pensions):

4

"I'm dissatisfied because the social problems have not been settled."

"Pension rates are a shame. They hardly keep you from starving."

"Our pensions are deplorably insufficient, yet the plan providing for an increase of pension rates is being shelved."

Compulsory military service:

3

"I consider the introducing of universal military service unwise."

"What do they reintroduce military service for? I'm utterly opposed to it."

"I don't like it that the Adenauer government has introduced compulsory military service."

The government's wage-price and tax policy:

2

"I'm dissatisfied with the wage-price policy of the government."

"The continuous rise in prices angers me."

"In proportion to salaries, taxes are too heavy."

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West GermanyThe neglect of the interests of the lower classes:

2%

"He doesn't do anything for us workers."

"The government consists of members of the upper class only. The workers' interests are disregarded."

"Adenauer's government could do more for the man in the street."

The strong clerical influence in politics:

*

"There are too many Catholics in the government."

"Adenauer is too one-sidedly orientated towards Rome."

Other answers to domestic policy:

2

"The government is autocratic. It's almost a dictatorship."

"The farmers' interests are too much neglected."

FOREIGN POLICY

(4%)

Foreign policy is too strongly orientated towards the West:

2

"Our government has sold Germany to the West."

"The government's stubborn attitude towards the East angers me."

"We should pursue a more flexible policy towards the East."

The reunification issue:

1

"Government members keep talking on reunification, but nothing is actually done."

"I'm dissatisfied with the fact that the government doesn't succeed in bringing about Germany's reunification."

"I'm displeased with the way it deals with the reunification problem."

Other answers to foreign policy:

1

"We still have no peace treaty."

"Adenauer's foreign policy is not favorable for us."

POLICY IN GENERAL

(2%)

"I disagree with his policy generally."

"I'm displeased with the political developments of the past few months."

No opinion, no answer:

(1%)

25%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

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ADENAUER'S PERSONAL PRESTIGE ALSO HOLDING UP....

The prestige which the West Germans accord Dr. Adenauer personally, as with the figures concerning his government, is, if anything, insignificantly lower than that found in April 1956 and April 1955. In fact if one examined the percentages assigning him "low" or "very low" prestige, the conclusion would have to be that there is no change whatsoever.

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?" (CARD)

	West Germany					
	Jan 1954 (309)	Sept 1954 (605)	April 1955 (843)	Sept 1955 (797)	April 1956 (1874)	Aug 1956 (1784)
Very high	22%	18%	17%	24%	15%	14%
High	39	34	30	34	32	29
Fair	17	22	21	20	17	20
Mediocre	10	11	12	11	11	12
Low	5	4	6	4	4	5
Very low	3	3	3	1	3	4
No opinion	4	8	11	6	18	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

DOMESTIC POLICIES AND PERSONAL QUALITIES TWIN PILLARS SUPPORTING ADENAUER STATURE - ALSO BASIS FOR CRITICISM....

Among the reasons cited by those persons who accord Chancellor Adenauer high prestige, his domestic policies and his personal qualities are seen as the main bases (mentioned by 29% and 26% respectively).

The single argument most often advanced is that he has achieved much for Germany by bringing it up from the devastation which was everywhere after the war (28%).

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"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?" (CARD)

IF "Very high", "High", (or favorable comments from "Fair" or "Mediocre"):

"Why does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy prestige with you?"

SUMMARY TABLE

<u>Domestic Policies</u>		(29%)
He achieved much for Germany	28	
Other domestic reasons	1	
<u>Personal Qualities</u>		(26%)
He possesses great personal qualities	14	
He is active and efficient despite his age	6	
He is a capable statesman and diplomat	3	
Other personal qualities	3	
<u>Foreign Policies</u>		(11%)
Restored world's confidence in Germany	5	
Achieved release of POWs	3	
He promotes peace	1	
Other foreign policy reasons	2	
<u>No opinion, no answer</u>		(5%)
		71%@

COMMENTS IN DETAIL....

West Germany

<u>"Very high"</u>	<u>"Fair"</u>
<u>"High"</u>	<u>"Mediocre"</u>

DOMESTIC POLICIES (29%)

Because he has achieved much for Germany (economic revival):

19%

9%

"In view of the difficulties that had to be met after the war, his successes are admirable."

"Thanks to him our economy has recovered remarkably."

"In the years after 1945 he achieved a revival of the German economy."

"He actually did a lot for the German worker."

"He represented our interests and helped Germany to prosper again."

"His achievements are really worthy of recognition."

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West Germany	
"Very high"	"Fair"
"High"	"Mediocre"

Other reasons concerning domestic policies:
 "His aim is to educate the younger generation properly."
 "I think it's a lie that Chancellor Adenauer agitates for war, a remark you often hear."

1%

*%

PERSONAL QUALITIES (26%)

<u>Because he possesses great personal qualities:</u> "He is a man of character and inspires respect." "He is honest, reliable, and clever." "He is so efficient that nobody else can reach up to him." "He is rather energetic and doesn't spare himself."	10	4
<u>Because he is active and efficient in spite of his age:</u> "Because he is so old and still is able to handle things most efficiently." "It is admirable that he is still so successful at his age." "What he has done up to now is almost too much to expect from a man that age."	5	1
<u>Because he is a capable statesman and diplomat:</u> "He is a capable statesman." "He is an outstanding statesman." "He is most efficient as regards foreign policy."	2	1
<u>Other personal qualities:</u> "He is a man with Christian principles." "He is not to be fooled." "Because he enjoys the highest esteem throughout the world."	2	1

FOREIGN POLICIES (11%)

<u>Because he restored the world's confidence in Germany and repaired its prestige:</u> "Because he succeeded in restoring the world's confidence in Germany. Through his initiative he regained our prestige abroad." "It's thanks to him that we again enjoy confidence in the world." "He saw to it that Germany is once more a political power to be reckoned with."	4	1
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	West Germany	
	"Very high"	"Fair"
	"High"	"Mediocre"
<u>Because he achieved the release of the German POW's:</u>	2%	1%
"It's to his merit that so many POWs have returned."		
"He made it possible for the POWs to return home."		
"I especially appreciate it that he contributed toward solving the POW problem."		
<u>Because he promotes peace:</u>	1	*
"He wants to maintain peace."		
"He did everything to restore peace and order."		
<u>Other reasons concerning foreign policies:</u>	1	1
"He is entirely on the side of the West."		
"He is active in bringing about reunification."		
<u>No opinion, no answer:</u>	2	3
	49%@	22%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

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CRITICISM OF ADENAUER....

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

IF "Low" or "Very low" (or negative comment from "Fair" or "Mediocre"):

"Why does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy....prestige with you?"

SUMMARY TABLE

<u>Domestic Policies</u>	(12%)
He advocates remilitarization	6%
Doesn't do enough for the man in the street	5
Too dependent on the Catholic Church	1
<u>Personal Qualities</u>	(9%)
Too autocratic	4
Too old	3
His character makes him unfit	2
<u>Foreign Policies</u>	(3%)
Too strongly influenced by the West	2
Doesn't press reunification vigorously	1
<u>Other Criticisms</u>	(4%)
<u>No opinion, no answer</u>	(5%)
	<u>33%@</u>

COMMENTS IN DETAIL....

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

IF "Low" or "Very low" (or negative comment from "Fair" or "Mediocre"):

"Why does Chancellor Adenauer enjoyprestige with you?"

West Germany	
"Fair"	"Low"
"Mediocre"	"Very low"

CRITICISMS OF DOMESTIC POLICIES (12%)

<u>He advocates remilitarization:</u>	4%	2%
"He is the driving force behind the remilitarization program."		
"Because he stubbornly insists on our having an army again."		
"Above all, I object to his stand on the remilitarization issue."		

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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		West Germany
	"Fair"	"Low"
	"Mediocre"	"Very low"
<u>He does not do enough to promote the interests of the man in the street:</u>	3%	2%
"He does nothing to better the lot of the workers." "The Chancellor doesn't care about how the average citizen fares, while under his regime the big shots get ever bigger." "Because he furthers the big capitalists, at the same time ruining the middle classes."		
<u>He is too dependent upon the Catholic Church:</u>	*	1
"His orientation towards the Church in Rome displeases me." "He lets the clergy gain too strong an influence over him."		
<u>PERSONAL CRITICISMS (9%)</u>		
<u>He is too autocratic:</u>	3	1
"I feel he is too high and mighty in the way he handles things." "He acts just the way he sees fit without caring what the people may think about it." "His policy is too rigid. Somehow he doesn't seem to understand that politics is the art of making the most of the given possibilities."		
<u>He is too old for his task:</u>	2	1
"He's much too old to occupy such a post." "An old man like him should leave politics alone." "He is too old to keep up with modern developments."		
<u>His character makes him unfit for this office:</u>	1	1
"Because he doesn't live up to his promises and keeps delaying decisions." "He is devoted to the personality cult."		
<u>CRITICISMS OF FOREIGN POLICIES (3%)</u>		
<u>He is too strongly influenced by the West:</u>	1	1
"You could say he is wedded to the U.S., and I don't like that." "He always negotiates with the West only." "He unreservedly accepts the policy of the UN-dominated West."		
<u>He does not press reunification vigorously:</u>	1	*
"He doesn't do enough to bring about reunification." "I feel his efforts aimed at reunification are pretty weak."		
<u>OTHER CRITICISMS (4%)</u>	3	1
"He is a strong nationalist. He is no democrat." "Because he isn't the right man to lead the Germans out of that awful mess they're in."		
<u>NO OPINION, NO ANSWER (5%)</u>	4 22%@	1 21%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

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PLURALITY STILL SATISFIED WITH ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF REUNIFICATION....

The responses to the question of satisfaction with the way Chancellor Adenauer is handling the problem of German reunification have been fairly consistent in the last three years. Somewhat under a half (now 43%) say they are satisfied, while approximately one quarter (now 26%) say that they are dissatisfied.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

	West Germany					
	June 1953 (761)	Jan 1954 (309)	Feb 1954 (634)	Nov 1954 (654)	April 1955 (843)	Aug 1956 (1784)
Satisfied	58%	72%	69%	44%	48%	43%
Dissatisfied	13	8	10	24	22	26
No opinion	29	20	21	32	30	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

THOSE DISSATISFIED OVER REUNIFICATION SAY - "ADENAUER IS NOT ACTIVE ENOUGH" - "SHOULD TALK WITH THE EAST....."

That quarter of the population which is dissatisfied with Chancellor Adenauer's handling of the problem of German reunification mainly want him "to be more active" in the field (10%), while many want him to "negotiate with the East" (5%). However, very few go as far as to actually say "negotiate with Pankow" (2%) or with Russia (1%).

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"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

IF "Dissatisfied":

'what are you dissatisfied with? Could you give an example?"

West Germany

10%

The Chancellor is not active enough:

"There is a lot of rhetorical talk on German reunification, but nothing concrete is done to bring us nearer to this aim."

"He keeps shelving the reunification issue, and I don't like that."

"It seems to me that Chancellor Adenauer should exert much more pressure to bring about reunification. I'm sure he could do more."

"It's plain for everybody to see that he doesn't really desire German reunification."

"He keeps babbling about it, but he doesn't get down to brass tacks."

5

He shows little willingness to negotiate with the East (no particular party mentioned):

"His attitude toward the East is too rigid."

"He could be more active in trying to establish contact with the East. He shouldn't reject all of the proposals those people over there make."

"He is too obstinate and rigid in his attitude towards the East. He should be more flexible."

4

He gives priority to German rearmament, thus making reunification more difficult:

"It displeased me that the Chancellor gave priority to German remilitarization, treating reunification as a matter of lesser importance."

"I believe the setting up of a new army will prove an obstacle to the reunification of Germany."

"I'm dissatisfied because I feel remilitarization jeopardizes reunification."

2

He refuses to negotiate with the Pankow government:

"He should talk things over with the Pankow people, even though he is opposed to the regime."

"In spite of everything, we should negotiate with the government of the Soviet Zone."

"He should be willing to confer with the Pankow government. For this is our common problem, after all."

2

He is too closely affiliated with the West:

"In conducting his policy, he conforms too much to the viewpoint of the Allies."

"He should proceed on his own without consulting the Western Powers."

"He is too dependent on the others. He does what the others want him to do and not what is good for us."

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West Germany

He shows little willingness to negotiate with Russia:
 "The Chancellor turns down on principle all proposals emanating from Moscow."
 "I'm dissatisfied because the Chancellor hasn't initiated direct negotiations with the U.S.S.R."
 "The Chancellor didn't exploit the possibilities which were open to him in Moscow."

1%

Other answers:

"He doesn't do anything to get the Americans to abolish the present borders with the consent of the Russians."
 "I think it's rather strange that he hasn't visited Berlin even once. Somehow you have a feeling that Berlin is only a political problem to him and that he doesn't see the human side of it."

2

No opinion, no answer:

2

28%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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Section II. - The Conscription Issue

SLIGHT EDGE IN FAVOR OF 500,000 MAN ARMY - FROM AMONG THOSE WITH OPINIONS....

Only six out of ten people in West Germany have apparently been able to reach an opinion concerning the correct size of the coming German army. Opinion within this group is far from united, as 22% say it is "too large", while 10% thinks it "too small", and 28% believes it to be "about right". Thus, while it could be argued that 38% of the West Germans feel a 500,000 man army is at least necessary, those backing it are actually a minority of the population.

"Considering our present situation, do you think a West German army of 500,000 men is too large, too small, or about right?"

Too large	22%
Too small	10
About right	28
No opinion	40
<hr/> 100%	

REASONS FOR CALLING 500,000 TOO LARGE, TOO SMALL, OR ABOUT RIGHT....

"Considering our present situation, do you think a West German army of 500,000 men is too large, too small or about right?"

IF "Too large":
"What makes you think so?"

West Germany

I am against military service - we do not need an army: 7%
 "I don't want any men to don uniform."
 "For me any army is too large because I hold the view that we do not need military forces at all."
 "We do not need an army. Whether it would consist of 500,000 or a million men doesn't make any difference."
 "I'm against military forces on principle. We can well do without soldiers."

Maintaining such a large army is too expensive: 4
 "The tax burden such a large army would mean would be too heavy for us. You can bear such a burden only if you feel there is a justified need for it."
 "I object to a large army as the people would have to work harder to maintain those idlers."
 "Such a large army is too heavy a financial burden."

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West GermanyModern warfare dispenses with large armies:

"In the atomic age, large troop contingents have become entirely superfluous."

3%

"What should we do with such a large army? Any future war will be decided by A-bombs."

"Due to the development of atomic weapons, large armies have become obsolete. This modern trend cannot be reversed."

A peacetime army need not be so large:

3

"In times of peace we do not need that many soldiers. They should let those men stay at home with their families."

"A country at peace does not need so many soldiers."

"At present there is no danger of war and, therefore, a smaller army whose only task is to guard our borders will do."

Large standing armies heighten the danger of war:

2

"To maintain a large army means to provoke a new war."

"If we set up a large army, this will only serve to arouse distrust and resentment among the other nations, which, in turn, may lead to war."

"The wisest course is to get along without an army, for one cannot wage war if there are no soldiers to fight."

A large standing army absorbs manpower needed in business and industry:

1

"The labor shortage is a problem even today. If a large army would be set up, the situation might become critical."

"We cannot afford to set up an army of 500,000 men as there is a shortage of manpower already."

"If a large army would be raised, many workers needed in industry and agriculture would be absorbed."

All the other nations are in the process of disarming:

1

"All the others have started to disarm, therefore, we shouldn't set up a large army."

"All over the world nations are disarming, after all."

Reunification will be obstructed by the raising of a new army:

*

"Military service will render German reunification much more difficult."

"We shouldn't set up an army at all, as this will prevent reunification."

The Allies provide military protection for West Germany:

*

"So far NATO-troops still protect us."

"The smaller our national army is, the longer the Allies will stay here and so we won't have to take on the Russians all alone if a showdown should come about."

* Less than one half of one percent.

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West Germany

Other answers:

"Some of the POWs haven't yet returned home, and
the others have been poorly rewarded for their
sacrifice." 2%

"Those gentlemen at the top should fight it out amongst
themselves."

No opinion, no answer:

1

24%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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"Considering the present situation, do you think a West German army of 500,000 men is too large, too small or about right?"

IF "Too small":
"What makes you think so?"

West Germany

An army of that size would be ineffectual in case of war:

6%

"Those 500,000 men would make a rather weak bulwark in case of an invasion."

"You cannot successfully defend a country with 500,000 men."

"Past wars proved that an army of that size isn't effective."

"If the Allied troops should withdraw and the new German army should take over their functions, a 500,000 man force would be definitely too small."

An army of that size is too weak as a counter-balance to the armies of the East bloc countries:

3

"Such an army would be no match for the Russians and, therefore, it couldn't protect West Germany."

"The Russians have a much larger number of soldiers, and, therefore, a small German army couldn't check a Russian advance."

"The danger from the East is too great for us to rely on such a small army."

Other answers:

1

"Considering modern warfare methods, only a large army of technically trained soldiers provides capable protection."

"The larger the armed forces will be, the more power a country will have."

No opinion, no answer:

*

10%

* Less than one half of one percent.

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"Considering our present situation, do you think a West German army of 500,000 men is too large, too small or about right?"

IF "About right":
"What makes you think so?"

West Germany

An army of that size suffices for the defense of our country:

11%

"It's just the number of soldiers we need to defend our country."

"In case of an emergency, the Germans would be able to defend themselves with an army of that strength."

"Our vast Eastern border line must be protected by soldiers, and this number would do."

"One must be prepared against the eventuality of a new war. And the strength of the army you mentioned should fill the bill."

An army of that size suffices in times of peace:

3

"What should we do with more soldiers in times of peace? That's what I want to know. That's plenty, I should think."

"As there is no danger of war at present, we do not need a larger army."

"As probably no country intends to bring on a new war, the number of soldiers can be pared down to meet minimum requirements."

An army of that size would meet geopolitical requirements:

3

"The figure is in proportion to the size of the country."

"An army of that size would be satisfactory for us and it wouldn't be so large as to draw criticism from other countries."

"We have to stay in line with the other nations."

We cannot afford to set up a larger army for economic and financial reasons:

2

"A larger army would probably be too heavy a financial burden for us."

"A larger army would be too heavy a drain on our economic and financial resources."

"A larger army might upset our budget."

An army of that size is needed as an effective counter-balance against the armies of the East bloc countries:

1

"Considering the number of men under arms in the East, I feel once the 500,000 men target is reached, the balance will be restored."

"I guess we need an army of that size to keep the Russians in check whose numbers are crushing at present."

"As things stand at present, the East Zone government keeps as many men under arms, if not more."

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany

This figure has been fixed by the Western Allies:

1%

"It seems our Allies consider this number to be adequate."
"An army is a must. We have to make our contribution to
the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."
"Well, as this number has been fixed by NATO, I guess
it's all right."

This figure has been fixed by the Federal Government:

1

"Well, I have to accept this figure as meeting our needs
as the Bonn government has expressed its approval."
"I guess an army of that size will do for us. The govern-
ment should know, after all."
"I'm sure our government arrived at the right figure after
carefully considering the matter."

Setting up a larger army would mean increasing the
danger of war:

1

"A larger army might tempt us to rattle the sword,
while a smaller army would be useless."
"If there were to be more soldiers, the situation
might easily get out of hand and end up in war."
"If we raise a larger army, war might break out."

The numerical strength of an army is of no importance
nowadays:

1

"The strength of an army isn't pivotal any longer, it's
the war materiel that counts."
"Masses of soldiers no longer decide the outcome of a
war."
"Due to modern weapons, the size of an army is of no
importance any longer."

We did not maintain a larger army in the past either:

*

"In the period before the war, we maintained an army
of about that size."
"We didn't keep a larger army in the past, either."

Other answers:

3

"So far this country is only half of Germany. Later
on maybe German troop strength can be increased."
"By setting up an army, unemployment will decrease."
"Nobody cares how we feel about it. The government
will call up as many men as it deems necessary."

No opinion, no answer:

3

30%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

CONFIDENTIAL

OPINIONS DIVIDED OVER QUESTION OF VOLUNTEER OR CONSCRIPT ARMY....

Three views were presented to the West Germans to obtain their opinions concerning the method of constructing the new German army. They could agree that the army should be made up of draftees only, should consist of a core of volunteer soldiers supplemented by draftees to bring the total up to the planned strength, or they could signify their desire that the army consist of volunteer career soldiers only. Various interpretations can be made of the obtained results.

Of the three alternatives posed, an army of volunteer soldiers only was chosen by the largest percentage of people (40%). The "compromise solution" of having a core of volunteers supplemented by draftees was approved by 22%, while 18% preferred a purely draftee army.

If those people who prefer a draftee army are added to those who like the idea of the professional army supplemented by draftees, it can be argued that there are as many people who wish conscription to take place (40%) as wish the army to be formed from volunteers only (40%). If, however, the second and third groups are added together (on the ground that those who wish volunteers to be supplemented by draftees are really hoping that there will be no need to draft boys) there is a large majority (62%) preferring a volunteer set-up.

The rather fluid state of public opinion on this subject is enhanced further by those people who are "undecided" on the question (20%). Even if those with opinions should not have them changed by coming developments so that there is a greater polarization of opinion than there is at present, the presently "undecided" could tip the scales in favor of either side.

CONFIDENTIAL

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"On this card you will find three views concerning the form of the future German Federal Army. (CARD) Which of them comes closer to your opinion?"

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| A - Mr Maier: | "The German Army should be formed of draftees only." |
| B - Mr. Mueller: | "The German Army should consist of a core of volunteer career soldiers which would be supplemented by draftees until the planned troop strength is reached." |
| C - Mr. Schulze: | "The German Army should be formed of volunteer career soldiers only." |

West Germany
(1784)

"With whom would you be most likely to agree?"

Mr. Maier	18%
Mr. Mueller	22
Mr. Schulze	40
Undecided	20
<hr/> 100%	

THOSE WANTING DRAFTEES ONLY SAY - "YOUNG MEN NEED MILITARY TRAINING", "IT IS EVERY MAN'S DUTY TO SERVE"....

Among those people who agreed with the first statement (that the army should consist of draftees only) the two reasons most often advanced were:

- "Young men need military training (7%),
- "It is every man's duty to serve in the army" (7%).

The various reasons given by those favoring having draftees only will be found in the following comments.

CONFIDENTIAL

"On this card you will find three views concerning the form of the future German Federal Army. Which of them comes closest to your opinion?"

IF "Mr. Maier: 'The German Army should be formed of draftees only'":

"Could you perhaps explain in a few words why you agree most with Mr. Maier?"

West Germany

Young men need military training:

7%

"The army teaches young men a lot and makes them independent in many ways."

"Without military service, young men never learn obedience."

"Everybody should learn order and discipline."

"The younger generation has become demoralized in recent years, so something should be done about it."

It is every man's duty to serve in the army:

7

"Every man must do his duty and serve in the forces."

"Any other form of an army is nonsense. An army based on draftees guarantees that everybody, regardless of social standing, will be called upon to do his duty."

"Only this form of an army guarantees that not only those to whom military life seems attractive, but also those who so far have been mainly concerned with making money, will serve in the forces."

"If all have to serve, there won't be any volunteers to be ridiculed, and no shirkers, either."

There will not be enough volunteers:

2

"There won't be enough young men willing to enlist."

"Military forces are a must for every state, but without draftees the necessary number of soldiers will never be reached."

"With an army formed of draftees, the necessary strength of the armed forces will always be guaranteed."

A regular army is too expensive:

1

"The maintenance of an army of career soldiers is much too expensive. The whole affair will be considerably less expensive if military service would be introduced."

"The upkeep of volunteers is too expensive."

Compulsory military service has worked in Germany in the past:

1

"Because we had good experiences with compulsory military service in Germany."

"We had that kind of army formerly, and it has proved all right."

Other answers:

2

"Well, why shouldn't one serve as a soldier for two years?"

"The law prescribing military service has already been passed by the Bundestag."

"All our men should undergo military training so that we will be able to defend ourselves, and then we can get rid of the occupation powers."

No opinion, no answer:

*

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

20%@

* Less than one half of one percent.

THOSE FAVORING A CORE OF CAREER SOLDIERS SAY - "IT WILL MAKE A BETTER ARMY"....

While the most frequent argument advanced by those favoring a core of career soldiers is that this arrangement will make for a better army (8%), other leading reasons are:

"There will not be enough volunteers" (4%),
"Young men need military service" (4%).

"On this card you will find three views concerning the form of the future German Federal Army. Which of them comes closest to your opinion?"

IF "Mr. Mueller: 'The German Army should consist of a core of volunteer career soldiers which would be supplemented by draftees until the planned troop strength is reached.'":

"Could you perhaps explain in a few words why you agree most with Mr. Mueller?"

West Germany

A core of career soldiers will make for a better army:

8%

"I think a competent cadre of regulars is needed first of all - the way it was in the past."

"A cadre of professional soldiers is the right thing. For an army consisting of volunteers only will lack stamina."

"If a permanent staff of regulars exists, the draftees can serve shorter terms."

"If we'd choose any other setup, we'd never get a competent army."

"Under this arrangement the army will not be made up of failures only."

There will not be enough volunteers:

4

"Undoubtedly it's preferable to rely on regular soldiers. But as probably not enough men will sign up, one cannot entirely dispense with conscription."

"I don't believe it will be possible to find enough volunteers to set up an army 500,000 men strong."

"There aren't enough young men willing to enlist."

Young men need military training:

4

"It's a good thing for many young men to be taught order and discipline."

"I hold the view that some experience of military life will be helpful for the German youth of today."

"Every young man should undergo some military drill."

Coercion should be avoided as far as possible:

3

"If one would accept volunteers first, and would only fill up the deficiency with conscripts, not so many men would be pressed into doing something they don't like to do."

"Under this arrangement not so many young men would have to be drafted."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West GermanyIt is every man's duty to serve in the army:

1%

"Every German should do his share toward defending his country. Under such an arrangement this could be most easily achieved."

"I feel every man should serve his time in the armed forces."

An army should be commanded by a corps of career officers:

*

"An officer corps should consist of career soldiers who devote themselves whole-heartedly to their task."

"It's necessary to have professional soldiers as leaders."

Other answers:

2

"Thus everybody would be pleased."

"That's how it has always been, and I think it's a good arrangement, too."

"I feel if they would stick to this plan, our new army would be, by and large, a volunteer force."

No opinion, no answer:

2

24%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

THOSE WANTING A VOLUNTEER ARMY SAY - "NO COERCION SHOULD BE EMPLOYED"....

The overwhelming reason advanced by those who say that the new German army should consist of volunteers only is that "no coercion should be employed" (24%). The seeming concern with the freedom of conscience of the individual might be more convincing were it not evident that many people use this argument as a cloak for simple opposition to military service. Indeed, some of the arguments used by those selecting a purely volunteer army as desirable have little to do with the problem of how to get an army at all - e.g. "Conscription interferes with careers", "German soldiers fared badly after the last war", "Families of draftees are opposed".

"On this card you will find three views concerning the form of the future German Federal Army. Which of them comes closest to your opinion?"

IF "Mr. Schulze: 'The German Army should be formed of volunteer career soldiers only.'":

"Could you perhaps explain in a few words why you agree with Mr. Schulze?"

West Germany

No coercion should be employed:

24%

"I firmly believe that nobody should be forced to serve in the army. The individual should be free to act as his conscience dictates."

"The individual should be free to decide whether or not he'll serve in the army."

"The freedom of the individual should be guaranteed as it was laid down in the Basic Law."

"Those should join the army who are interested in a military career, the others should be left alone."

"Those who want to sign up, can do so. Then if they meet with some mishap, they have only themselves to blame."

"That would be the best solution. Then only those would become soldiers who like military life."

Compulsory military service could/should be dispensed with:

3

"Those who fancy a military career, should enlist. Then universal military service could be done away with."

"I'm against people being trained in the use of arms."

"I reject universal conscription."

An army of volunteers guarantees a higher standard of efficiency:

2

"Soldiering should be considered a career and people should be trained as thoroughly as for any other occupation."

"There cannot be any doubt about it. Volunteers display greater enthusiasm than conscripts."

"As a rule, volunteers make the best fighters."

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West GermanyUniversal conscription interferes with careers:

"Young men who want to start out on a career must have a chance to do so. They mustn't be drafted for military service."

"Occupational training mustn't be interrupted."

"If universal conscription would be decreed, many men would have to leave their jobs."

2%

Our soldiers fared badly in the post-war period:

2

"After the war the going was rough for our boys, and that's why I'm against conscription."

"There are some German soldiers who still are retained as POWs in other countries, after all."

"The claims of the veterans should be honored first before one thinks of setting up a new army."

A regular army suffices for our needs:

2

"Equipped with modern weapons, a regular army meets our needs. It will also be a sufficiently large outfit to serve as our contingent in the defense community."

"I'm sure 150,000 men willing to enlist could be found, and we do not need more."

"Any future war would be an atomic war and so it would be completely sufficient to keep a regular army."

Universal conscription may lead to war:

1

"What we've been through was so dreadful that on no account must there be any preparations for a new war."

"Once young men would be conscripted again, war wouldn't be far off."

Opposition by the families of draftees:

1

"Two of my sons were killed in the war and I certainly want the two youngest ones to live."

"I need my son on the farm and, therefore, I'm against the draft."

A regular army suffices to guarantee internal security:

*

"We should only have an army of 100,000 men whose task it would be to maintain peace and order at home."

"All we need is some sort of police or protective force."

Other answers:

3

"It would be madness to set up an army at the present time. For it would make German reunification impossible."

"To most people military life is uncongenial."

"If only volunteers would be enrolled, Mr. Adenauer would easily find out whether the German people are enthusiastic about the new Federal Army, or not."

No opinion, no answer:

2

42%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

TWELVE MONTH PERIOD FOR DRAFTEES MOST PALATABLE....

In a double-barrelled attempt to ascertain 1) whether any of the individuals who, on the preceding question registered themselves as fundamentally opposed to conscription, would accept a given length of service (in view of the fact that the law on conscription had actually been passed before the survey began), and 2) which length of service - 12, 18, or 24 months - was favored the most by the West German population, the following question was presented to all.

The answer to point 2 above is most simply presented in the table below, from which it can be seen that the 12 month period is selected by more people (18%) than chose the 18 month period (16%), or the 24 month length of service (5%).

"Supposing the following alternatives (CARD) had to be voted upon. Which would you choose?"

- A - The German Federal Army should be made up of draftees who will serve 12 months, so that they can return to civilian life as soon as possible.
- B - The German Federal Army should be made up only of draftees who will serve 18 months, as the Federal Government deems necessary.
- C - The German Federal Army should be made up only of draftees who will serve 24 months, as recommended by some generals as a necessary military measure.
- D - The German Federal Army should be made up only of volunteer career soldiers. Then universal conscription need not be introduced.

West Germany

A	18%
B	16
C	5
D	41
No opinion	20

100%

The answer to the first point is that less than 3% of the population, in the preceding question favored a volunteer army, chose one of the three possible lengths of service in this question. Most of the people comprising this 3%, chose the shortest period of time.

IF "The German Army should be formed of volunteer career soldiers only" and 12, 18, or 24 month draft selected in question above:
"Why would you choose this alternative?"

LIST

Volunteers only - yet 12 month draft 1.6%

"Twelve months simply have to be enough."
 "Because the young men shouldn't stay away from home for more than 12 months."
 "Because one year isn't such an awfully long period of time."
 "It is all right to teach the young people order and discipline, but our economy would be hurt if they kept away for too long a time."
 "Twelve months would be just the right length of time. A longer training period would make people disgruntled."
 "So that the young men can return to their jobs as soon as possible."

Volunteers only - yet 18 month draft 0.6%

"Even for volunteer career soldiers an 18-month training ought to be enough."
 "Considering the intricacies of modern technology, a 12-month period doesn't suffice."
 "Specialized military training demands an 18-month service."
 "The Federal Government is supposed to know best."

Volunteers only - yet 24 month draft 0.4%

"24 months are a must, otherwise the whole effort is wasted."
 "In order to get good soldiers, you have to subject them to an intensive training."
 "This is the generals' business."

Section III. - Reunification

THE ONLY LINE OF ACTION CLEARLY DISAPPROVED IS NO ACTION.....

Possible lines of action to further German reunification, some or all of which have been discussed in recent national conventions of the major political parties in the Federal Republic, were presented to the West Germans without identification as to the source of the proposal. While some proposals have been argued more vehemently in some parties than in others, no party has yet officially adopted any one of them.

A clear majority (58%) approved of the proposal that both East and West Germany - each in its own way - should elect representatives to an all-German Assembly, while a similar majority disapproved of the proposition that no discussions or talks should be held between the East and the West considering the present circumstances (the Adenauer government's present course of action).

A plurality favored the suggestion that informal talks should be held between East and West German government officials (46%), yet previous surveys have showed that strong majorities have so far rejected recognition of the Pankow regime!

The proposal that private individuals should be designated by East and West Germany to discuss reunification is either the least known or the hardest for people to decide upon. Almost equal proportions of the West German population approved, disapproved, or were undecided about the idea.

CONFIDENTIAL

"Recently the individual political parties have made several proposals as to how to bring about German reunification. Would you please tell me for each of these proposals whether you approve or disapprove of it?" (CARD)

	West Germany		
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
A - East and West Germany - each in its own way - should elect representatives to an all-German Assembly which would then consider ways to achieve reunification	58%	14%	28...100%
B - Informal talks on reunification should be held between East and West German government officials	46	22	32
C - Private persons should be designated in East and West Germany who, with official sanction, would discuss reunification without being authorized, however, to make final decisions	30	36	34
D - Under present circumstances no discussions or talks should be held between East and West Germany	8	61	31

AN ALL-GERMAN ASSEMBLY, WITH REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED FROM EAST AND WEST, CONSIDERED THE BEST WAY TO BRING ABOUT REUNIFICATION....

After having rendered a separate judgment upon each of the four proposals discussed above, each respondent was then asked which one of these proposals would be most capable of bringing about German reunification. With three out of ten unable to decide (30%), the first proposition, the all-German Assembly, was selected by a majority of those with an opinion (43% of the total population).

"In your opinion, which of these proposals would be most capable of bringing about German reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>
A	43%
B	16
C	8
D	3
No opinion	30
	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

THE PRICE OF REUNIFICATION! - THE WEST GERMAN POPULATION'S ANSWER TO POSSIBLE PRICES FOR REUNIFICATION....

NO, to acceptance of	(HEAVIER TAX BURDEN (FOOD RATIONING (EAST ZONE LEADERS AS CONFEREES (EAST ZONE LEADERS IN ALL-GERMAN (GOV'T. (NON-DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT (NON-FREE ELECTIONS (LOSS OF ODER-NEISSE TERRITORY
YES, possibly to	- SHORTAGE OF CONSUMER GOODS
YES, definitely to	- WITHDRAWAL OF NATO, AND RUSSIAN FORCES

Since it can be justifiably assumed that almost every German is "for" reunification, it remains only a question of measuring the degree of intensity of the feeling. As one measure of this, a series of propositions were given to the population as possible "prices for reunification". In each of the nine cases they were to say whether they would be willing to accept these things as part of the price for reunification at the present time (italics added), or whether they would not be willing to do so.

In five cases majorities rejected the proposal, and in another two strong pluralities (almost half of the population) rejected the proposition. In only one instance did a majority accept the idea, while a slight tendency to approve of the remaining suggestion seems to exist. In short, then, the impression one gains from the general rejection of possible prices of reunification is that the West German population might like reunification but isn't particularly willing or prepared to make any sacrifices to bring it about. The only proposal that a majority accepts is the doubly attractive one that NATO forces leave West Germany, if the Russians leave East Germany.

The individual propositions which were presented to the respondents will be taken up next, in the order in which they were presented, and brief comparisons made between the present results and those obtained the last time these questions were put before them. The first eight propositions were last asked in April 1955, while the ninth (about the Oder-Neisse territories) has been asked several times since 1953. Any shifts in opinion, therefore, can be noted.

HEAVIER TAX BURDEN....

A majority of the population (57%) is still not willing to assume a heavier tax burden if that would be required in order to achieve reunification. This proportion, which is twice as large as that for those who are willing to assume greater tax burdens, is almost identical with that found in April 1955.

"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification at the present time - to bear a heavier tax burden, or wouldn't you?"

	West Germany	
	April 1955 (843)	August 1956 (1784)
Yes, would	31%	29%
No, would not	56	57
No opinion	13	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

FOOD RATIONING....

While slightly more people indicate their willingness to put up with the re-introduction of food rationing*, a majority (51%) still reject the idea, even if reunification would also, or thereby, be achieved. While the present result is not statistically different from that obtained earlier, there is some evidence (from similar slight trends in other questions) that on this issue too, there is an apparent hardening of the public attitude from that which existed in 1955.

"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification at the present time - to put up with a re-introduction of food rationing, or wouldn't you?"

	West Germany	
	April 1955	August 1956
Yes, would	41%	37%
No, would not	49	51
No opinion	10	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

* As against willingness to assume a heavier tax burden.

CONFIDENTIAL

SHORTAGE OF CONSUMER GOODS....

There is some doubt whether the West German population is really willing to put up with a shortage of consumer goods for the sake of reunification since 1) the percentages saying "yes" (48%) and "no" (40%) are fairly close, and 2) there seems to be slightly greater resistance to the idea now than there was over a year ago.

"And would you - for the sake of reunification at the present time - put up with a shortage of consumer goods, or wouldn't you?"

	West Germany	
	April 1955	August 1956
Yes, would	52%	48%
No, would not	38	40
No opinion	10	12
	100%	100%

RECOGNIZE EAST ZONE LEADERS AS CONFEREES....

A significant shift of opinion would appear to have occurred with respect to recognition of the present leaders of the East Zone government as conferees. A plurality would not accept them today (44%) whereas a plurality would accept them in April 1955.

"And would you - in order to achieve reunification - recognize the present leaders of the East Zone government as conferees, or wouldn't you?"

	West Germany	
	April 1955	August 1956
Yes, would	46%	30%
No, would not	31	44
No opinion	23	26
	100%	100%

CONFIDENTIAL

ACCEPTANCE OF EAST ZONE LEADERS IN ALL-GERMAN GOVERNMENT....

The apparent hardening of the public attitude against the present leaders of the East Zone government noted in the preceding proposition, is negated by the trend results to the following proposition concerning acceptance of these same leaders into an all-German government. True, almost half (49%) still reject them, but this is less than refused to have them in an all-German government in April 1955 (59%). Why there should be a hardening of attitude towards the (logically) easier proposition that the East Zone leaders be accepted as conferees, and an apparent softening to the more fundamental proposition of the composition of the all-German government is a puzzle.

"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - to accept the present leaders of the East Zone government as members of an all-German government, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
	<u>April</u> <u>1955</u>	<u>August</u> <u>1956</u>
Yes, would	18%	23%
No, would not	59	49
No opinion	23	28
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

NON-DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT....

What little change in attitude there may be on this question is in a more favorable direction. Slightly more people insist on a democratic form of government, and slightly fewer would accept a non-democratic form of government, if it would help bring about reunification. The differences, however, are well within the range of simple sample variation.

"And would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - to accept some other non-democratic form of government, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
	<u>April</u> <u>1955</u>	<u>August</u> <u>1956</u>
Yes, would	13%	8%
No, would not	62	65
No opinion	25	27
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

NON-FREE ELECTION....

On another fundamental issue - that of free elections - a sizeable majority (64%) of the West German population would reject the shell of reunification if they had to accept an all-German election which would not be as free as those to which they are now used to having in West Germany.

"And would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - at the present time - to accept an all-German election which would not be as free as those here in West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

	West Germany	
	April 1955	August 1956
Yes, would	10%	11%
No, would not	68	64
No opinion	22	25
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

WITHDRAWAL OF NATO AND RUSSIAN FORCES....

This is the one issue which is very popular. Getting the "foreign" troops off German soil is too attractive a proposition to be turned down, even if this event would actually decrease German security. The majority which accepted this idea in 1955 (53%) has now grown to 60%, with a consequent decrease in those who would refuse to give up the security of NATO forces (from 25% to 16%).

"And would you - for the sake of reunification - accept withdrawal of NATO forces from Germany with, thereby, lessened security, if Russian troops would leave East Germany at the same time?"

	West Germany	
	April 1955	August 1956
Yes, would	53%	60%
No, would not	25	16
No opinion	22	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RENUNCIATION OF THE ODER-NEISSE TERRITORY....

Large majorities, ever since 1953, have steadfastly refused to give up German claims to the Oder-Neisse territories, even if thereby reunification would be achieved. The present results are no exception. Two-thirds of the West German populace (67%) still refuse to renounce the Oder-Neisse lands, while only one out of ten (10%) is apparently willing to do so.

"Would you also be for reunification if free elections would be held in the East Zone on condition that West Germany recognize the Oder-Neisse line as the final Eastern border, thus giving up the Eastern territories for good?"

	West Germany			
	Dec 1953 (601)*3	April 1954 (843)**	Sept 1955 (797)**	August 1956 (1784)
Yes, would	13%	10%	9%	10%
No, would not	69	72	68	67
No opinion	18	18	23	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

- ** In these surveys question ran as follows: "Supposing Russia would demand as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections that Germany should recognize the Oder-Neisse line as a final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you under these circumstances, be rather for or rather against an immediate reunification?"

Section IV. - Party Preferences

ALMOST EQUAL PROPORTIONS INDICATE PREFERENCE FOR CDU AND SPD....

The two leading, and opposing, parties in West Germany seem to be almost evenly balanced as far as popular support is concerned. The Christian Democratic Union is supported by 31% of the adult population, while the opposition Social Democrats are liked by 29%.

These results were obtained from one main question ("Would you please tell me which party you like best?") plus a filter question asked of those who did not indicate a preference for any party. The latter group were then asked, "If elections for the Bundestag would be held tomorrow, for which party would you cast your vote?" In this manner the 40% of the population which originally had no party preference or answered "no opinion" to the question could be reduced to 31% whose party preference or vote intention still remain unknown. In view of the closeness of the two main parties this sizeable bloc of "unknown" voters becomes rather crucial. How they will split will determine which shall be the leading party in West Germany.

Party Preference in West Germany

August 1956

CDU/CSU	31%
SPD	29
FDP	6
DP	1
DRP	*
BHE	1
KPD	*
FVP	*
Other parties	1
No party,no opinion	31
	100%

* Less than one half of one percent.

EIGHT OUT OF TEN CDU ADHERENTS WOULD REMAIN FAITHFUL EVEN WITHOUT ADENAUER....

That group in the population which indicated its liking for the CDU (31% of the general population) was asked whether they would still vote for the CDU/CSU if Chancellor Adenauer would retire from politics. Eight out of ten CDU/CSU adherents would remain firm, whereas only a very small group would then be inclined to turn its back on the CDU/CSU (1% of the total population, or 4% of the CDU inclined group). It is, therefore, clear that the CDU/CSU voters would not be appreciably affected should Adenauer withdraw from the political scene.

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

IF "CDU/CSU" :

"Supposing Chancellor Adenauer would retire from politics, would you still cast your vote for the CDU/CSU, or wouldn't you do so any longer?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
Yes, vote even then for CDU/CSU	25%	80%
No, not vote for CDU/CSU any longer	1	4
Don't know	5	16
	<u>31%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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CDU MIGHT GAIN MORE VOTES FROM FORMER NON-ADHERENTS THAN IT WOULD LOSE FROM ITS OWN RANKS SHOULD ADENAUER RETIRE....

That portion of the population which had indicated that it would not be likely to vote for the CDU/CSU (by either naming another party or by saying that it preferred no party or had no opinion) was also asked if they would be inclined to vote for the CDU/CSU should Chancellor Adenauer retire from politics before the 1957 Bundestag elections. One percent of the total population then felt that they would definitely vote for the CDU/CSU, while an additional 4% of the West German adult population replied that they would "perhaps then vote for the CDU/CSU". This total gain for the CDU/CSU (5% of the population) would more than offset the definite loss that would occur within the CDU/CSU ranks (1% of the total population).

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

IF "CDU" NOT named:

"As you know, in the fall of 1957 elections for the Bundestag will be held once more. Supposing Chancellor Adenauer should retire from politics, would you then perhaps be more inclined to vote for the CDU/CSU, or wouldn't you do so even then? (Would definitely or only perhaps vote for the CDU/CSU?) (Would definitely not or only probably would not vote for the CDU/CSU?)"

West Germany

Definitely would vote for CDU/CSU	1%	1%
Perhaps would vote for the CDU/CSU	4	6
Probably would not vote for the CDU/CSU	3	5
Most definitely would not vote for the CDU/CSU	33	48
Undecided	28	40
	<u>69%</u>	<u>= 100%</u>

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CDU/CSU VICTORY EXPECTED, BUT ADENAUER ROLE NOT CONSIDERED VITAL....

In order to determine popular assessment of the role that Chancellor Adenauer's presence is expected to play in the coming Bundestag elections, everyone was asked whether they thought that the CDU/CSU would win these elections "even if Dr. Adenauer would retire".

The largest single group of people was simply unable to decide (42%). Over one quarter (27%), however, thought that they would win even without Adenauer. A little under a fifth (18%) replied that the CDU/CSU will not win even with him, while the remaining people (13%) thought that the CDU/CSU would not win unless they had Adenauer to head the ticket. The net effect, therefore, is to blur the importance of Adenauer's presence as a political asset or political liability.

"Do you believe the CDU/CSU will win these elections again, even if Dr. Adenauer would retire from politics, or do you believe the CDU/CSU would then not win these elections?

West Germany

CDU/CSU will win even without Dr. Adenauer	27%
CDU/CSU will not win without Dr. Adenauer	13
CDU/CSU will not win even with Dr. Adenauer	18
No opinion	42
	<u>100%</u>

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A P P E N D I X I.

Opinions of Party Adherents

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Appendix I. - Opinions of Party AdherentsA. The Position of Adenauer and His Government

HALF OF SPD SATISFIED WITH ACTIVITIES OF ADENAUER GOVERNMENT....

Despite the fact that they prefer the SPD, almost exactly half of them say that they are satisfied with the activities of the Adenauer government (49%). As might be expected from CDU adherents, almost all of them are "in the fold" and satisfied (91%).

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	49%	42%	9%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	91	5	4	547
FDP	64	26	10	110
Other parties	60	29	11	80
Unknown	51	14	35	547

EVEN ONE-THIRD OF SPD SATISFIED WITH ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF REUNIFICATION....

Considering the nature of the party position of the SPD on reunification, it is surprising to find as many as one-third of those who label themselves as SPD adherents satisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification. While two-thirds of the CDU people (68%) are satisfied, as many of them are undecided (23%) as were undecided among SPD adherents (24%).

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	33%	43%	24%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	68	9	23	547
FDP	44	41	15	110
Other parties	37	43	20	80
Unknown	30	19	51	547

ONE QUARTER OF SPD - ONE THIRD OF "UNKNOWNNS" ASSIGN ADENAUER HIGH PRESTIGE....

Chancellor Adenauer's personal prestige is rated as high by as many SPD protagonists as assign him low prestige (24% versus 21%). Even one third of those whose preference we do not know give him "high" or "very high" prestige.

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?" (CARD)

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Very high to high</u>	<u>Fair to Mediocre</u>	<u>Low to very low</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No.of cases</u>
SPD	24%	44%	21%	11%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	70	23	2	5	547
FDP	38	48	7	7	110
Other parties	39	37	15	9	80
Unknown	32	29	5	34	547

B. The Conscription Issue

MAJORITY OF CDU)
 HALF OF FDP) CONSIDER 500,000 MAN ARMY NECESSARY....
 THREE-TENTHS OF SPD)

Taking the responses of those who said that a 500,000 man army was either "too small" or "about right", it is the CDU adherent who is most in favor of that number. But even here it should be noted that one third of both the SPD and CDU group are undecided on the issue. The split on this question is most pronounced within SPD ranks, for there a little over a third call it "too large" (38%), while just under a third consider it necessary (9% too small and 21% just about right), and the remaining third frankly being undecided (32%).

"Considering our present situation, do you think a West German army of 500,000 men is too large, too small or about right?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Too large</u>	<u>Too small</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	38%	9%	21%	32%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	12	12	42	34	547
FDP	26	10	39	25	110
Other parties	31	14	29	26	80
Unknown	16	7	19	58	547

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CDU/CSU SPLIT ON VOLUNTEER-DRAFT ISSUE....

The volunteer versus draft issue finds CDU members far from united. Only 30% come out for a straight draft. Almost as many (29%) say the army should be formed of volunteer career soldiers only, while about the same number (28%) take the middle course of proposing a core of volunteers to be supplemented by draftees.

On this issue a majority of SPD adherents (61%) come out flatly for a volunteer set-up. Even FDP partisans are inclined in this direction (42%).

"On this card you will find three views concerning the form of the future German Federal Army. (CARD)
Which of them comes closest to your opinion?

Mr. Maier: The German Army should be formed of draftees only

Mr. Mueller: The German Army should consist of a core of volunteer career soldiers which would be supplemented by draftees until the planned troop strength is reached

Mr. Schulze: The German Army should be formed of volunteer career soldiers only.

With whom would you be most likely to agree?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Maier (Draft)</u>	<u>Mueller (Core)</u>	<u>Schulze (Volunteers)</u>	<u>No.of Undecided</u>	<u>No.of cases</u>
SPD	13%	15%	61%	11%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	30	28	29	13	547
FDP	16	34	42	8	110
Other parties	19	31	36	14	80
Unknown	13	17	33	37	547

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ON LENGTH OF SERVICE UNDER DRAFT THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 12 AND 18 MONTHS AS FAR AS ALL EXCEPT SPD ADHERENTS ARE CONCERNED....

As far as CDU, FDP, other party adherents and even those without a party label are concerned there does not seem to be any difference between the 12 and 18 month periods of service. Almost as many chose one as the other. Only among SPD partisans is there a distinct preference for the 12 month period.

"Supposing the following alternatives (CARD) had to be voted upon, which would you choose?"

- A - The German Federal Army should be made up of draftees who will serve 12 months, so that they can return to civilian life as soon as possible
- B - The German Federal Army should be made up only of draftees who will serve 18 months, as the Federal Government deems necessary
- C - The German Federal Army should be made up only of draftees who will serve 24 months, as recommended by some generals as a necessary military measure
- D - The German Federal Army should be made up only of volunteer career soldiers. Then universal conscription need not be introduced

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>12 mos.</u>	<u>18 mos.</u>	<u>24 mos.</u>	<u>Volunteers only</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No.of cases</u>
SPD	13%	9%	5%	63%	10%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	25	24	6	28	17	547
FDP	20	19	7	44	10	110
Other parties	21	19	9	39	12	80
Unknown	14	12	4	32	38	547

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C. Reunification

MAJORITIES FROM ALL PARTIES APPROVE OF AN ALL-GERMAN ASSEMBLY....

Even although the statement included the phrase that representatives to an all-German Assembly should be elected in East and West Germany each in its own way, majorities from all political parties signified their approval of the idea.

"Recently the individual political parties have made several proposals as to how to bring about German reunification. Would you please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of this proposal:

East and West Germany - each in its own way - should elect representatives to an all-German Assembly which would then consider ways to achieve reunification."

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	71%	15%	14%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	58	18	24	547
FDP	69	17	14	110
Other parties	63	18	19	80
Unknown	43	9	48	547

MAJORITY OF SPD AND FDP, PLURALITY FROM CDU APPROVES OF INFORMAL TALKS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS....

The greater susceptibility of the SPD and FDP rank and file to the idea of talks between East and West German government officials is to be seen in the following table. The main difference between the CDU and the other two parties is to be found in the fact that while only a plurality (42%) approve of the proposition, opposition to the plan is not much greater. Instead, the remaining CDU people are in the undecided category!

"Informal talks on reunification should be held between East and West German government officials."

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	63%	19%	18%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	42	28	30	547
FDP	57	26	17	110
Other parties	46	31	23	80
Unknown	33	16	51	547

ONLY IN FDP DOES MAJORITY DISAPPROVE OF TALKS BETWEEN PRIVATE PERSONS SELECTED BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS....

While there is a slight tendency in every group to disapprove of the idea of having private persons designated by East and West Germany conduct unofficial talks, only in the FDP is there an actual majority (51%) against the proposal.

"Private persons should be designated in East and West Germany who, with official sanction, would discuss reunification without being authorized, however, to make final decisions."

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	38%	42%	20%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	30	38	32	547
FDP	32	51	17	110
Other parties	40	39	21	80
Unknown	20	26	54	541

EVEN MAJORITY OF CDU DISAPPROVES OF HOLDING NO TALKS....

Despite the fact that the Adenauer government, which is essentially a CDU/CSU government, is in fact not pushing for any kind of action between East and West Germany, even a solid majority (59%) of the CDU adherents disapprove of doing nothing at the present time.

"Under present circumstances no discussions or talks should be held between East and West Germany."

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	9%	74%	17%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	11	59	30	547
FDP	6	79	15	110
Other parties	11	69	20	80
Unknown	5	45	50	547

ALL-GERMAN ASSEMBLY CONSIDERED MOST CAPABLE OF BRINGING ABOUT REUNIFICATION...

The appeal of the idea of an all-German Assembly (regardless of the way its representatives get elected to it) exerts an almost equal appeal to the adherents of all political parties. The idea of holding no talks (Point D in the original question) finds equally little support among all.

"In your opinion, which of these proposals would be most capable of bringing about German reunification?"

	All- German Assembly	Informal talks	Private Persons	No talks	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	52%	22%	8%	2%	16%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	43	17	8	5	27	547
FDP	51	17	10	4	18	110
Other parties	41	18	13	6	22	80
Unknown	34	9	6	3	48	547

MAJORITIES IN ALL PARTIES REJECT - HEAVIER TAX BURDEN

- NON-DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT
- NON-FREE ELECTIONS
- RENUNCIATION OF ODER-NEISSE TERRITORY....

On the above four questions strong majorities from all shades of political preference reject the acceptance of heavier taxes, some other non-democratic form of government, an all-German election which would not be as free as the one to which they are now accustomed, or renunciation of the Oder-Neisse territories - even if they brought reunification.

"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification at the present time - to bear a heavier tax burden, or wouldn't you?"

	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33%	60%	7%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	34	55	11	547
FDP	26	67	7	110
Other parties	36	55	9	80
Unknown	20	54	26	547

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"And would you be willing - for the sake of reunification at the present time - to accept some other non-democratic form of government, or wouldn't you?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	11%	73%	16%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	6	72	22	547
FDP	9	76	15	110
Other parties	15	74	11	80
Unknown	7	47	46	547

"And would you be willing - for the sake of reunification at the present time - to accept an all-German election which would not be as free as those here in West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	14%	72%	14%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	8	70	22	547
FDP	13	75	12	110
Other parties	18	71	11	80
Unknown	10	46	44	547

"Would you also be for reunification if free elections would be held in the East Zone on condition that West Germany recognize the Oder-Neisse line as the final Eastern border, thus giving up the Eastern territories for good?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	14%	72%	14%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	9	74	17	547
FDP	11	75	14	110
Other parties	10	77	13	80
Unknown	7	52	41	547

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VARYING MAJORITIES ACCEPT - SHORTAGE OF CONSUMER GOODS
 - WITHDRAWAL OF NATO AND RUSSIAN FORCES....

With the single exception of where 49% of the SPD adherents said they would accept a shortage of consumer goods, majorities of all political parties would accept a shortage of consumer goods, or the withdrawal of NATO and Russian forces from West and East Germany if thereby reunification would be furthered. FDP people were the most willing to accept a shortage of consumer goods (70% as against 49% and 52% for SPD and CDU), while CDU partisans were least likely to OK the withdrawal of NATO forces (57% as against 73% and 75% for SPD and FDP).

"And would you - for the sake of reunification at the present time - put up with a shortage of consumer goods, or wouldn't you?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	49%	45%	6%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	52	38	10	547
FDP	70	25	5	110
Other parties	63	34	3	80
Unknown	37	39	24	547

"And would you - for the sake of reunification - accept withdrawal of NATO forces from Germany with thereby lessened security, if Russian troops would leave East Germany at the same time?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	73%	15%	12%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	57	21	22	547
FDP	75	10	15	110
Other parties	68	25	7	80
Unknown	49	10	41	547

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MAJORITIES IN SPD AND CDU REJECT, BUT HALF OF FDP ACCEPTS REINTRODUCTION OF FOOD RATIONING....

The greater willingness of FDP adherents to put up with shortages of one kind or another is further brought out here. While half of them (50%) would accept food rationing as a price for reunification, majorities in the SPD and the CDU turn it down.

"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - to put up with a shortage of consumer goods, or wouldn't you?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	38%	57%	5%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	41	51	8	547
FDP	50	44	6	110
Other parties	53	40	7	80
Unknown	28	49	23	547

CDU AND FDP ADHERENTS OPPOSE SPD ON ACCEPTANCE OF EAST ZONE LEADERS AS CONFEREES....

A majority of the CDU (56%) and a plurality of the FDP group (47%) would not be willing to accept the present leaders of the East Zone government as conferees to settle the reunification question. On the other hand a plurality of the SPD would (45%).

"And would you - in order to achieve reunification - recognize the present leaders of the East Zone government as conferees, or wouldn't you?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	45%	40%	15%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	23	56	21	547
FDP	40	47	13	110
Other parties	30	49	21	80
Unknown	20	35	45	547

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TENDENCY (OR MORE) IN ALL GROUPS TO REJECT EAST ZONE LEADERS AS MEMBERS OF AN ALL-GERMAN GOVERNMENT....

Majorities in the CDU (62%) and in the FDP (57%) would not accept the present leaders of the East Zone as members of an all-German government, while pluralities in other groups are similarly opposed.

"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - to accept the present leaders of the East Zone government as members of an all-German government, or wouldn't you?"

<u>Party Preference:</u>	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
SPD	34%	47%	19%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	15	62	23	547
FDP	33	57	10	110
Other parties	38	46	16	80
Unknown	16	38	46	547

D. Party Preference

SHOULD ADENAUER RETIRE, CDU MIGHT GAIN MOST FROM THE FDP....

From the response to the question as to whether they (as non-CDU inclined voters) would be likely to consider voting for the CDU should Adenauer retire before the Bundestag elections in 1957, it would appear that the CDU might look forward to picking up approximately:

12% of those who are now FDP inclined
 7% of those who are SPD inclined, and
 10% of those who are now favoring some other party.

It should be remembered that these add up to 5% of the total adult West German population, and have to be weighed against the 20% of the CDU inclined (6% of the total population) who either would not vote for the CDU then or who do not know what they would do.

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"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

IF "CDU" NOT named:

"As you know, in the fall of 1957 elections for the Bundestag will be held once more. Supposing Chancellor Adenauer should retire from politics, would you then perhaps be more inclined to vote for the CDU/CSU, or wouldn't you do so even then?"

	Would definite- ly vote CDU/CSU	Would perhaps vote CDU/CSU	Probably vote CDU/CSU	Definite- not vote CDU/CSU	Un- decided CDU/CSU	No. of cases
--	--	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------

Party Preference:

SPD	2%	5%	5%	76%	12%...100%	500
FDP	4	8	11	60	17	547
Other parties	4	6	13	66	11	80
Unknown	1	5	3	17	74	547

1957 ELECTIONS - FDP AND SMALLER PARTIES ASSIGN ADENAUER PIVOTAL ROLE
 - CDU CONFIDENT EVEN WITHOUT ADENAUER
 - SPD SOMEWHAT UNCERTAIN

While sizeable percentages among all parties do not know what to say on the question, CDU adherents appear fairly confident that they will win in 1957 even if Dr. Adenauer does not run. SPD stalwarts seem undecided. True only 14% of them think the CDU has the election in the bag even without Adenauer, but only a minority (38%) are brave enough to reply that the CDU will not win even with him.

"Do you believe the CDU/CSU will win these elections again, even if Dr. Adenauer would retire from politics, or do you believe the CDU/CSU would then not win these elections?"

	Will win even without Dr. Adenauer	Will not win without Dr. Adenauer	Will not win even with Dr. Adenauer	No opinion	No. of cases
--	--	---	---	---------------	-----------------

Party Preference:

SPD	14%	16%	38%	32%...100%	500
CDU/CSU	50	14	4	32	547
FDP	32	19	24	25	110
Other parties	26	19	29	26	80
Unknown	13	8	10	69	547

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A P P E N D I X II.

Political Orientation of Popu-
lation Groups

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Appendix II. - Political Orientation of Population Groups

The following material is presented in this Appendix primarily because the total sample while representative of the West German population cannot be considered completely representative of each of the sub-groups within the total population. Since this is the fact, it means that in certain categories the number of cases upon which percentages must be based is in a number of instances quite small. These two limiting factors, seriously detract from the reliability of the data, and make comparisons most hazardous. Nevertheless it is felt that interest in these figures and tentative interpretations, in view of the coming Bundestag elections, is sufficiently great to warrant their inclusion.

Future surveys in this field, which will occur up to and possibly beyond the September 1957 elections, although they will also be representative for the West German population as a whole, will furnish trend data which can be used to add stability to the present "indications".

The following tables show the percentage of each sub-group indicating:

- 1 - a preference for the AfD,
- 2 - a preference for the CDU/CSU,
- 3 - a preference for some other political party, or
- 4 - political leaning "unknown".

From such percentages we can note toward which of the two leading political parties members of the various sub-groups incline, and we can also see in which areas the largest indecision or cloaking of political intentions is taking place. Considering the closeness of the two contending parties, and the size of this "unknown" factor, it is in this particular area that the final electoral decision will rest.

AREAS OF SPD AND CDU/CSU "STRENGTH"....

The simplified presentation of areas of SPD and CDU/CSU strength presented below was taken from the figures which follow. Areas of strength were listed when one party had at least 5% more adherents in that sub-group than its opponent, without regard to the size of the uncommitted vote.

<u>Area</u>	<u>SPD Particularly Strong among:</u>	<u>CDU/CSU Particularly strong among:</u>
Sex	Men	Women
Income	-	Lowest and highest income groups
Organizational activity	Those "somewhat" active in organizations	Those "very active" or least active in organizations
Socio-economic status	-	Upper Socio-economic status
Age	Youngest groups	Oldest groups
Occupation	Skilled and semi-skilled workers	Professional, business, white collar, farmer, housewife, and pensioner groups
Religion	Protestants	Catholics
City Size	Cities between 25,000 - 100,000	Cities under 2,000
Land	Hesse	North-Rhine Westphalia

THE UNKNOWN VOTE....

These same figures reveal the areas where we know the least about the party preference of population groups. As has been previously pointed out, there is not a single area, or group where one party has a sufficient lead that intentions of the "unknown" group can be safely ignored or dismissed as inconsequential. Therefore, it only remains to take particular note of where this factor is especially large.

Population groups where the percentage of "unknowns" is at least several percentage points higher than the national average (31%) are as follows:

Women	35%
Those not particularly active in organizations	35
Individuals 18 - 24	34
Individuals 35 - 44	35
Businessmen	34
Domestic service workers	40
Housewives	34
Residents in cities 2,000 - 24,999	34
Residents of Lower Saxony	42
Residents of Hesse	39
Residents of Baden-Wuerttemberg	34

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	<u>SPD</u>	<u>CDU</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	29%	31%	9%	31%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	35	28	12	25	804
Women	22	33	10	35	980
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	30	31	8	31	1460
Beyond elementary	21	29	21	29	324
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	22	37	9	32	157
150 to 299 DM	31	30	9	30	347
300 to 399 DM	32	28	9	31	381
400 to 499 DM	32	32	10	26	315
500 DM and more	26	33	13	28	472
No answer	17	18	10	55	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	30	36	15	19	138
Somewhat active	36	31	10	23	481
Remainder	24	30	11	35	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	20	32	17	31	233
Middle classes	28	31	12	29	1019
Lower classes	33	29	6	32	532
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	36	26	4	34	218
25 to 34 years	33	30	9	28	391
35 to 44 years	27	27	11	35	347
45 to 54 years	25	32	17	26	362
55 years and over	24	35	10	31	466
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	32	41	8	19	38
Businessmen	15	30	21	34	161
White-collar workers	24	31	13	32	180
Skilled laborers	47	23	6	24	232
Semi-skilled laborers	47	20	4	29	169
Domestic service	27	26	7	40	59
Farmers; farmhands	12	45	17	26	127
Housewives	22	32	12	34	564
Pensioners; retired	29	36	8	27	200
Students; apprentices	30	31	8	31	54
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	21	46	6	27	719
Protestants	32	21	14	33	990
Others	34	6	11	49	29
No religion	29	20	17	34	46
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	27	31	10	32	1415
Expellees; refugees	28	30	14	28	369

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		<u>SPD</u>	<u>CDU</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	1,999	21%	37%	11%	31%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	24,999	27	28	11	34	520
25,000 to 99,999	99,999	44	26	8	22	233
100,000 and over		29	30	12	29	521
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen		30	29	16	25	149
Lower Saxony		20	26	12	42	214
North Rhine/Westphalia		29	36	7	28	545
Hesse		32	16	13	39	160
Rhineland/Palatinate		33	30	8	29	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg		24	27	15	34	263
Bavaria		31	35	9	25	331

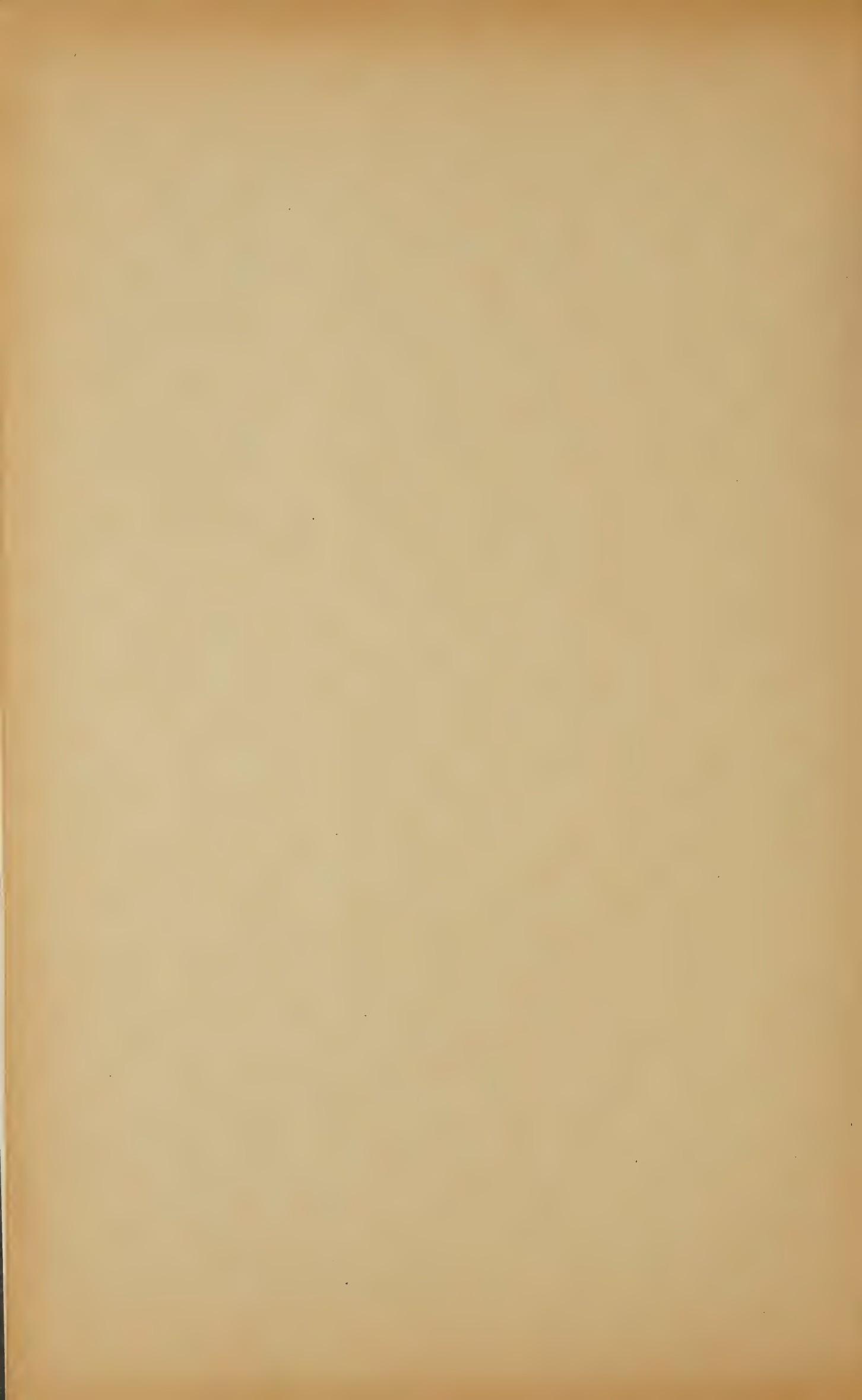
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APPENDIX III.

Group Breaks

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Section I. - Present Position of
Adenauer and His Government

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?"

	Satisfied	Dis-satisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Total Population</u>	64%	20%	16%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65	26	9	804
Women	63	16	21	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	63	20	17	1460
Beyond elementary	67	24	9	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	61	18	21	157
150 to 299 DM	67	19	14	347
300 to 399 DM	62	21	17	381
400 to 499 DM	61	24	15	315
500 DM and more	66	22	12	472
No answer	56	16	28	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	65	30	5	138
Somewhat active	67	24	9	481
Remainder	62	18	20	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	69	21	10	233
Middle classes	64	21	15	1019
Lower classes	60	20	20	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	63	17	20	218
25 to 34 years	63	23	14	391
35 to 44 years	61	20	19	347
45 to 54 years	63	23	14	362
55 years and over	67	19	14	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	71	24	5	38
Businessmen	69	22	9	161
White-collar workers	64	22	14	180
Skilled laborers	57	30	13	232
Semi-skilled laborers	61	24	15	169
Domestic service	60	20	20	59
Farmers; farmhands	70	13	17	127
Housewives	63	17	20	564
Pensioners; retired	64	21	15	200
Students; apprentices	71	20	9	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	71	16	13	719
Protestants	60	22	18	990
Others	55	24	21	29
No religion	43	46	11	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	63	21	16	1415
Expellees; refugees	67	19	14	369

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	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dis-satisfied</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999.	67%	17%	16%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	62	19	19	520
25,000 to 99,999	59	28	13	233
100,000 and over	64	22	14	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	63	28	9	149
Lower Saxony	58	13	29	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	63	23	14	545
Hesse	65	19	16	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	57	25	18	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	64	23	13	263
Bavaria	69	17	14	331

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"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

	<u>Very high to high</u>	<u>Fair to mediocre</u>	<u>Low to very low</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	43%	32%	9%	16%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	44	34	13	9	804
Women	41	31	7	21	980
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	40	34	9	17	1460
Beyond elementary	51	31	8	10	324
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	44	25	11	20	157
150 to 299 DM	42	36	7	15	347
300 to 399 DM	40	32	11	17	381
400 to 499 DM	40	37	9	14	315
500 DM and more	46	33	9	12	472
No answer	40	26	7	27	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	57	28	10	5	138
Somewhat active	48	33	10	9	481
Remainder	38	33	9	20	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	51	32	7	10	233
Middle classes	42	34	9	15	1019
Lower classes	39	30	11	20	532
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	39	34	10	17	218
25 to 34 years	37	39	11	13	391
35 to 44 years	42	32	8	18	347
45 to 54 years	42	34	10	14	362
55 years and over	49	27	8	16	466
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	53	30	10	7	38
Businessmen	47	34	7	12	161
White-collar workers	51	29	8	12	180
Skilled laborers	35	40	14	11	232
Semi-skilled laborers	29	41	14	16	169
Domestic service	46	31	8	15	59
Farmers; farmhands	46	31	7	16	127
Housewives	40	32	7	21	564
Pensioners; retired	49	25	10	16	200
Students; apprentices	53	30	13	4	54
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	49	27	8	16	719
Protestants	39	36	9	16	990
Others	21	45	14	20	29
No religion	35	33	26	6	46
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	42	32	10	16	1415
Expellees; refugees	42	37	6	15	369

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	<u>Very high to high</u>	<u>Fair to mediocre</u>	<u>Low to very low</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	41%	36%	7%	16%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	40	32	10	18	520
25,000 to 99,999	41	29	15	15	233
100,000 and over	47	32	9	12	521
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	40	42	12	6	149
Lower Saxony	29	35	10	26	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	47	29	8	16	545
Hesse	48	26	7	19	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	44	24	19	13	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	42	37	10	11	263
Bavaria	41	36	7	16	331

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dis-satisfied</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	43%	26%	31%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	46	34	20	804
Women	42	18	40	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	44	22	34	1460
Beyond elementary	41	39	20	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	39	17	44	157
150 to 299 DM	42	21	37	347
300 to 399 DM	38	29	33	381
400 to 499 DM	45	27	28	315
500 DM and more	51	29	20	472
No answer	34	20	46	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	47	38	15	138
Somewhat active	48	30	22	481
Remainder	41	22	37	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	51	30	19	233
Middle classes	44	25	31	1019
Lower classes	40	23	37	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	42	25	33	218
25 to 34 years	45	28	27	391
35 to 44 years	41	25	34	347
45 to 54 years	44	26	30	362
55 years and over	45	23	32	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	34	40	26	38
Businessmen	47	33	20	161
White-collar workers	42	30	28	130
Skilled laborers	47	32	21	232
Semi-skilled laborers	44	27	29	169
Domestic service	31	27	42	59
Farmers; farmhands	51	13	36	127
Housewives	41	21	38	564
Pensioners; retired	41	24	35	200
Students; apprentices	52	30	18	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	48	19	33	719
Protestants	41	29	30	990
Others	41	24	35	29
No religion	24	48	28	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	44	24	32	1415
Expellees; refugees	43	30	27	369

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	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dis-satisfied</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
--	------------------	----------------------	-------------------	---------------------

City Size:

Up to 1,999	44%	20%	36%	510
2,000 to 24,999	42	25	33	520
25,000 to 99,999	44	31	25	233
100,000 and over	44	29	27	521

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	38	36	26	149
Lower Saxony	29	28	43	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	44	25	31	545
Hesse	48	21	31	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	44	30	26	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	48	27	25	263
Bavaria	49	20	31	331

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Section II. - The Conscription Issue

"Considering our present situation, do you think a West German army of 500,000 men is too large, too small or about right?"

	<u>Too large</u>	<u>Too small</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	22%	10%	28%	40%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28	13	34	25	804
Women	18	7	23	52	980
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	22	9	26	43	1460
Beyond elementary	24	11	38	57	324
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	21	7	20	52	157
150 to 299 DM	20	10	29	41	347
300 to 399 DM	22	10	25	43	381
400 to 499 DM	25	9	33	33	315
500 DM and more	25	11	30	34	472
No answer	15	6	22	57	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> ②					
Very active	23	15	42	20	138
Somewhat active	26	13	31	30	481
Remainder	20	8	25	47	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	20	11	37	32	233
Middle classes	22	11	28	39	1019
Lower classes	22	7	25	46	532
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	25	9	31	35	218
25 to 34 years	25	9	29	37	391
35 to 44 years	20	12	26	42	347
45 to 54 years	21	12	27	40	362
55 years and over	21	7	28	44	466
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	21	13	42	24	38
Businessmen	28	9	33	30	161
White-collar workers	25	10	33	32	180
Skilled laborers	31	13	30	26	232
Semi-skilled laborers	22	12	27	39	169
Domestic service	15	10	24	51	59
Farmers; farmhands	22	13	30	35	127
Housewives	17	7	24	52	564
Pensioners; retired	19	6	25	50	200
Students; apprentices	28	13	37	22	54
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	21	11	26	42	719
Protestants	24	8	29	39	990
Others	10	7	31	52	29
No religion	24	11	26	39	46
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	23	9	27	41	1415
Expellees; refugees	20	12	31	37	369

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	<u>Too large</u>	<u>Too small</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	21%	11%	27%	41%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	22	10	27	41	520
25,000 to 99,999	28	7	28	37	233
100,000 and over	21	9	31	39	521
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	23	11	33	33	149
Lower Saxony	15	10	23	52	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	19	11	26	44	545
Hesse	19	6	34	41	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	30	7	32	31	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	33	5	30	32	263
Bavaria	21	14	27	38	331

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"On this card you will find three views concerning the form of the future German Federal Army. (CARD) Which of them comes closest to your opinion?

Mr. Maier: The German Army should be formed of draftees only.

Mr. Mueller: The German Army should consist of a core of volunteer career soldiers which would be supplemented by draftees until the planned troop strength is reached.

Mr. Schulze: The German Army should be formed of volunteer career soldiers only.

With whom would you be most likely to agree?"

	Mr. Maier	Mr. Mueller	Mr. Schulze	Un- decided	No. of cases
<u>Total Population</u>	18%	22%	40%	20%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	22	23	44	11	804
Women	16	20	57	27	980
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	18	19	41	22	1460
Beyond elementary	22	35	34	9	324
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	21	11	35	33	157
150 to 299 DM	20	21	35	24	347
300 to 399 DM	17	23	41	19	381
400 to 499 DM	16	24	48	12	315
500 DM and more	22	25	40	13	472
No answer	13	16	35	36	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> ①					
Very active	21	26	47	6	138
Somewhat active	20	25	45	10	481
Remainder	18	20	37	25	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	22	30	35	13	233
Middle classes	18	22	42	18	1019
Lower classes	19	17	38	26	532
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	15	24	47	14	218
25 to 34 years	14	24	47	15	391
35 to 44 years	17	21	40	22	347
45 to 54 years	21	20	40	19	362
55 years and over	24	21	30	25	466
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	26	29	32	13	38
Businessmen	21	24	41	14	161
White-collar workers	16	32	39	13	180
Skilled laborers	16	20	53	11	232
Semi-skilled laborers	14	22	51	13	169
Domestic service	27	17	25	31	59
Farmers; farmhands	26	21	36	17	127
Housewives	16	20	37	27	564
Pensioners; retired	26	18	30	26	200
Students; apprentices	22	22	46	10	54

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	<u>Mr. Maier</u>	<u>Mr. Mueller</u>	<u>Mr. Schulze</u>	<u>Un- decided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	23%	19%	37%	21%...100%	719
Protestants	15	24	42	19	990
Others	21	24	41	14	29
No religion	15	22	43	20	46
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	18	21	41	20	1415
Expellees; refugees	22	22	37	19	369
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	20	18	41	21	510
2,000 to 24,999	19	23	35	23	520
25,000 to 99,999	17	18	50	15	233
100,000 and over	18	26	39	17	521
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	10	36	41	13	149
Lower Saxony	18	20	27	35	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	21	18	43	18	545
Hesse	17	24	36	23	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	20	21	43	16	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	26	44	18	263
Bavaria	26	18	39	17	331

"Supposing the following alternatives (CARD) had to be voted upon - which would you choose?

- A - The German Federal Army should be made up of draftees who will serve 12 months, so that they can return to civilian life as soon as possible.
- B - The German Federal Army should be made up only of draftees who will serve 18 months, as the Federal Government deems necessary.
- C - The German Federal Army should be made up only of draftees who will serve 24 months, as recommended by some generals as a necessary military measure.
- D - The German Federal Army should be made up only of volunteer career soldiers. Then universal conscription need not be introduced."

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	18%	16%	5%	41%	20%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	19	18	7	45	11	804
Women	16	14	4	38	28	980
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	17	14	5	42	22	1460
Beyond elementary	22	22	6	36	14	324
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	14	10	6	33	37	157
150 to 299 DM	15	21	3	38	23	347
300 to 399 DM	18	14	5	42	21	381
400 to 499 DM	18	16	5	48	13	315
500 DM and more	20	17	7	41	15	472
No answer	22	8	3	31	36	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>						
Very active	19	23	4	48	6	138
Somewhat active	18	19	7	44	12	481
Remainder	18	13	5	38	26	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	21	20	8	36	15	233
Middle classes	18	15	5	44	18	1019
Lower classes	16	14	5	37	28	532
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	23	14	1	46	16	218
25 to 34 years	17	14	5	48	16	391
35 to 44 years	16	14	5	45	20	347
45 to 54 years	18	15	7	40	20	362
55 years and over	17	20	6	30	27	466
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	13	18	11	37	21	38
Businessmen	19	18	8	40	15	161
White-collar workers	22	13	7	44	14	180
Skilled laborers	16	15	3	55	11	232
Semi-skilled laborers	20	11	5	51	13	169
Domestic service	10	19	5	31	35	59
Farmers; farmhands	21	20	7	35	17	127
Housewives	17	14	5	37	27	564
Pensioners; retired	15	18	7	33	27	200
Students; apprentices	24	20	-	39	17	54

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	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	19%	16%	5%	38%	22%...100%	719
Protestants	17	15	6	42	20	990
Others	10	21	10	38	21	29
No religion	9	15	9	54	13	46
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	18	15	5	42	20	1415
Expellees; refugees	15	19	6	38	22	369
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	17	16	4	42	21	510
2,000 to 24,999	20	16	6	36	22	520
25,000 to 99,999	16	12	2	51	19	233
100,000 and over	17	17	7	40	19	521
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	15	21	7	44	13	149
Lower Saxony	13	16	8	30	33	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	21	12	4	44	19	545
Hesse	8	23	8	36	25	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	14	14	10	42	20	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	20	14	3	43	20	263
Bavaria	21	17	4	41	17	331

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Section III. - Reunification

"Recently the individual political parties have made several proposals as to how to bring about German reunification. Would you please tell me for each of these proposals whether you approve or disapprove of it. (CARD)

East and West Germany - each in its own way - should elect representatives to an all-German Assembly which would then consider ways to achieve reunification."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	58%	14%	28%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65	20	15	804
Women	53	10	37	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	57	12	31	1460
Beyond elementary	64	25	11	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	47	8	45	157
150 to 299 DM	55	12	33	347
300 to 399 DM	59	15	26	381
400 to 499 DM	63	15	22	315
500 DM and more	64	19	17	472
No answer	41	10	49	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	65	23	12	138
Somewhat active	67	17	16	481
Remainder	53	13	34	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	62	21	17	233
Middle classes	60	14	26	1019
Lower classes	16	50	34	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	59	19	22	218
25 to 34 years	64	14	22	391
35 to 44 years	58	15	27	347
45 to 54 years	58	15	27	362
55 years and over	54	12	34	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	52	32	16	38
Businessmen	58	19	23	161
White-collar workers	64	20	16	180
Skilled laborers	68	18	14	232
Semi-skilled laborers	69	12	19	169
Domestic service	49	12	39	59
Farmers; farmhands	57	9	34	127
Housewives	52	11	37	564
Pensioners; retired	53	9	38	200
Students; apprentices	57	26	17	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	53	14	33	719
Protestants	62	14	24	990
Others	59	17	24	29
No religion	61	26	13	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	58	14	28	1415
Expellees; refugees	61	16	23	369

(Cont'd on next page)

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	55%	11%	34%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	57	14	29	520
25,000 to 99,999	66	13	21	233
100,000 and over	59	18	23	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	68	19	13	149
Lower Saxony	47	14	39	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	60	12	28	545
Hesse	48	25	27	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	57	19	24	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	60	12	28	263
Bavaria	61	11	28	331

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"Informal talks on reunification should be held between East and West German government officials."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	46%	22%	32%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	53	28	19	804
Women	40	17	43	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	45	19	36	1460
Beyond elementary	50	37	13	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	30	19	51	157
150 to 299 DM	47	17	36	347
300 to 399 DM	42	25	33	381
400 to 499 DM	56	19	25	315
500 DM and more	51	28	21	472
No answer	30	16	54	112
<u>Opinion-Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	59	30	11	138
Somewhat active	51	26	23	481
Remainder	42	20	38	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	54	30	16	233
Middle classes	47	21	32	1019
Lower classes	42	20	38	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	49	25	26	218
25 to 34 years	49	24	27	391
35 to 44 years	47	22	31	347
45 to 54 years	45	21	34	362
55 years and over	42	19	39	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	42	42	16	38
Businessmen	52	24	24	161
White-collar workers	46	35	19	180
Skilled laborers	60	22	18	232
Semi-skilled laborers	51	21	28	169
Domestic service	36	20	44	59
Farmers; farmhands	44	19	37	127
Housewives	41	18	41	564
Pensioners; retired	40	17	43	200
Students; retired	52	28	20	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	43	20	37	719
Protestants	48	22	30	990
Others	38	38	24	29
No religion	44	41	15	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	47	20	33	1415
Expellees; refugees	44	28	28	369

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No. opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	41%	17%	42%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	48	22	30	520
25,000 to 99,999	51	24	25	233
100,000 and over	47	26	27	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	54	33	13	149
Lower Saxony	37	20	43	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	46	22	32	545
Hesse	45	26	29	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	42	24	34	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	46	16	38	263
Bavaria	50	20	30	331

CONFIDENTIAL

"Private persons should be designated in East and West Germany who, with official sanction, would discuss reunification without being authorized, however, to make final decisions."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	30%	36%	34%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	36	44	20	804
Women	25	30	45	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	29	33	38	1460
Beyond elementary	33	51	16	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	26	22	52	157
150 to 299 DM	31	29	40	347
300 to 399 DM	31	35	34	381
400 to 499 DM	28	44	28	315
500 DM and more	31	45	24	472
No answer	22	24	54	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	36	52	12	138
Somewhat active	34	41	25	481
Remainder	27	32	41	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	30	49	21	233
Middle classes	28	38	34	1019
Lower classes	31	28	41	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	34	39	27	218
25 to 34 years	29	42	29	391
35 to 44 years	27	38	35	347
45 to 54 years	32	34	34	362
55 years and over	28	31	41	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	21	61	18	38
Businessmen	30	44	26	161
White-collar workers	32	49	19	180
Skilled laborers	34	47	19	232
Semi-skilled laborers	40	32	28	169
Domestic service	17	36	47	59
Farmers; farmhands	35	24	41	127
Housewives	24	30	46	564
Pensioners; retired	30	29	41	200
Students; apprentices	35	46	19	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26	34	40	719
Protestants	32	37	31	990
Others	38	41	21	129
No religion	37	48	15	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	29	35	36	1415
Expellees; refugees	31	39	30	369

(Cont'd on next page)

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	29%	28%	43%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	33	34	33	520
25,000 to 99,999	25	44	31	233
100,000 and over	29	43	28	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	47	40	13	149
Lower Saxony	31	23	46	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	29	36	35	545
Hesse	33	34	33	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	24	43	33	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	27	36	37	263
Bavaria	25	42	33	331

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"Under present circumstances no discussions or talks should be held between East and West Germany."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	8%	61%	31%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	10	70	20	804
Women	7	53	40	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	8	57	35	1460
Beyond elementary	11	77	12	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	6	44	50	157
150 to 299 DM	7	55	38	347
300 to 399 DM	9	62	29	381
400 to 499 DM	10	66	24	315
500 DM and more	9	70	21	472
No answer	4	44	52	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	13	74	13	138
Somewhat active	10	69	21	481
Remainder	7	56	37	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	11	73	16	233
Middle classes	8	62	30	1019
Lower classes	6	55	39	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	12	61	27	218
25 to 34 years	9	66	25	391
35 to 44 years	7	62	31	347
45 to 54 years	9	61	30	362
55 years and over	7	55	38	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	13	71	16	38
Businessmen	8	71	21	161
White-collar workers	9	75	16	180
Skilled laborers	10	73	17	232
Semi-skilled laborers	6	66	28	169
Domestic service	5	51	44	59
Farmers; farmhands	8	51	41	127
Housewives	8	52	40	564
Pensioners; retired	6	52	42	200
Students; apprentices	19	59	22	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9	54	37	719
Protestants	8	65	27	990
Others	14	62	24	29
No religion	2	80	18	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	8	60	32	1415
Expellees; refugees	8	65	27	369

(Cont'd on next page)

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	7%	53%	40%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	6	63	31	520
25,000 to 99,999	11	68	21	233
100,000 and over	11	63	26	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	7	81	12	149
Lower Saxony	6	50	44	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	7	61	32	545
Hesse	11	66	23	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	8	58	34	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	10	56	34	263
Bavaria	9	60	31	331

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"In your opinion, which of these proposals would be most capable of bringing about German reunification?

- A - East and West Germany - each in its own way - should elect representatives to an all-German Assembly which would then consider ways to achieve reunification.
- B - Informal talks on reunification should be held between East and West German government officials.
- C - Private persons should be designated in East and West Germany who, with official sanction, would discuss reunification without being authorized, however, to make final decisions.
- D - Under present circumstances no discussions or talks should be held between East and West Germany.

	A	B	C	D	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Total Population</u>	43%	16%	8%	3%	30%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	49	19	10	4	18	804
Women	38	14	6	3	39	980
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	41	16	7	3	33	1460
Beyond elementary	51	18	9	6	16	324
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	29	11	10	3	47	157
150 to 299 DM	38	15	9	3	35	347
300 to 399 DM	46	16	8	3	27	381
400 to 499 DM	48	20	7	4	21	315
500 DM and more	49	18	8	4	21	472
No answer	29	10	4	2	55	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>						
Very active	44	27	12	5	12	138
Somewhat active	52	18	9	3	18	481
Remainder	39	14	8	3	36	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	47	21	7	7	18	233
Middle classes	44	17	7	3	29	1019
Lower classes	39	14	9	3	35	532
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	47	18	8	5	22	218
25 to 34 years	51	15	6	3	25	391
35 to 44 years	42	16	9	3	30	347
45 to 54 years	42	16	9	4	29	362
55 years and over	37	16	8	2	37	466
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	39	16	5	11	29	38
Businessmen	47	21	9	1	22	161
White-collar workers	53	14	8	6	19	180
Skilled laborers	52	21	9	3	15	232
Semi-skilled laborers	48	14	14	1	23	169
Domestic service	34	14	3	2	47	59
Farmers; farmhands	39	13	9	3	36	127
Housewives	36	16	5	4	39	564
Pensioners; retired	39	14	8	1	38	200
Students; apprentices	43	22	15	11	9	54

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	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	41%	15%	6%	4%	34%...100%	719
Protestants	45	17	9	3	26	990
Others	52	7	14	3	24	29
No religion	44	15	15	2	24	46
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	43	16	7	3	31	1415
Expellees; refugees	45	15	10	4	26	369
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	42	12	8	2	36	510
2,000 to 24,999	38	18	10	4	30	520
25,000 to 99,999	52	18	4	5	21	233
100,000 and over	45	18	7	4	26	521
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	52	18	9	1	20	149
Lower Saxony	26	14	14	3	43	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	44	15	7	3	31	545
Hesse	42	18	10	4	26	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	44	16	6	4	30	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	44	19	8	4	25	263
Bavaria	49	16	3	4	28	331

"Now I would like to ask you a few questions as to whether you would be willing to accept the following things as part of the price for reunification at the present time.

Would you be willing ~~to~~ for the sake of reunification at the present time - to bear a heavier tax burden, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	29%	57%	14%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	33	58	9	804
Women	25	56	19	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23	61	16	1460
Beyond elementary	51	40	9	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	24	46	30	157
150 to 299 DM	24	58	18	347
300 to 399 DM	29	60	11	381
400 to 499 DM	30	58	12	315
500 DM and more	37	55	8	472
No answer	14	61	25	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>				
Very active	40	57	3	138
Somewhat active	33	60	7	481
Remainder	26	56	18	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	40	49	11	233
Middle classes	28	59	13	1019
Lower classes	25	57	18	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	30	56	14	218
25 to 34 years	34	54	12	391
35 to 44 years	27	59	14	347
45 to 54 years	27	62	11	362
55 years and over	28	53	19	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	66	29	5	38
Businessmen	25	68	7	161
White-collar workers	45	47	8	180
Skilled laborers	27	64	9	232
Semi-skilled laborers	28	63	9	169
Domestic service	25	46	29	59
Farmers; farmhands	17	68	15	127
Housewives	25	58	17	564
Pensioners; retired	27	48	25	200
Students; apprentices	50	33	17	54

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	27%	58%	15%...100%	719
Protestants	30	57	13	990
Others	48	31	21	29
No religion	39	50	11	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	26	60	14	1415
Expellees; refugees	39	47	14	369
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	21	61	18	510
2,000 to 24,999	29	55	16	520
25,000 to 99,999	35	57	8	233
100,000 and over	34	54	12	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	43	50	7	149
Lower Saxony	24	56	20	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	30	57	13	545
Hesse	34	49	17	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	35	56	9	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	20	66	14	263
Bavaria	26	58	16	331

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"Would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - to put up with a reintroduction of food rationing or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	37%	51%	12%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	42	50	8	804
Women	34	51	15	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	32	55	13	1460
Beyond elementary	61	32	7	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	33	43	24	157
150 to 299 DM	33	53	14	347
300 to 399 DM	39	51	10	381
400 to 499 DM	36	54	10	315
500 DM and more	44	49	7	472
No answer	26	51	23	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	52	44	4	158
Somewhat active	41	52	7	481
Remainder	34	51	15	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	46	43	11	233
Middle classes	36	53	11	1019
Lower classes	35	50	15	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	31	56	13	218
25 to 34 years	41	49	10	391
35 to 44 years	38	50	12	347
45 to 54 years	39	52	9	362
55 years and over	35	49	16	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	74	18	8	38
Businessmen	39	53	8	161
White-collar workers	45	47	8	180
Skilled laborers	32	60	8	232
Semi-skilled laborers	35	57	8	169
Domestic service	39	39	22	59
Farmers; farmhands	32	49	19	127
Housewives	34	52	14	564
Pensioners; retired	36	47	17	200
Students; apprentices	52	39	9	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31	55	14	719
Protestants	41	48	11	990
Others	45	48	7	29
No religion	43	50	7	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	35	52	13	1415
Expellees; refugees	44	47	9	369

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	30%	53%	17%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	38	48	14	520
25,000 to 99,999	36	59	5	233
100,000 and over	44	48	8	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	72	25	3	149
Lower Saxony	33	50	17	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	36	55	9	545
Hesse	43	44	13	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	33	57	10	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	30	55	15	263
Bavaria	30	54	16	331

"And would you - for the sake of reunification - put up with a shortage of consumer goods, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	48%	40%	12%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	52	40	8	804
Women	45	39	16	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	43	43	14	1460
Beyond elementary	73	22	5	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	40	38	22	157
150 to 299 DM	44	43	13	347
300 to 399 DM	48	38	14	381
400 to 499 DM	51	39	10	315
500 DM and more	55	38	7	472
No answer	34	43	23	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	59	36	5	138
Somewhat active	52	41	7	481
Remainder	45	39	16	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	67	25	8	233
Middle classes	45	43	12	1019
Lower classes	45	40	15	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	41	43	16	218
25 to 34 years	50	41	9	391
35 to 44 years	50	37	13	347
45 to 54 years	51	40	9	362
55 years and over	45	38	17	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	82	10	8	38
Businessmen	53	38	9	161
White-collar workers	60	32	8	180
Skilled laborers	42	49	9	232
Semi-skilled laborers	44	48	8	169
Domestic service	52	29	19	59
Farmers; farmhands	39	46	15	127
Housewives	46	39	15	564
Pensioners; retired	46	36	18	200
Students; apprentices	57	30	13	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	44	42	14	719
Protestants	50	38	12	990
Others	62	31	7	29
No religion	57	39	4	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	46	41	13	1415
Expellees; refugees	57	33	10	369

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	41%	43%	16%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	49	37	14	520
25,000 to 99,999	42	49	9	233
100,000 and over	57	34	9	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/ Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	79	18	3	149
Lower Saxony	42	39	19	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	45	44	11	545
Hesse	56	34	10	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	48	44	8	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	45	41	14	263
Bavaria	42	41	17	331

CONFIDENTIAL

"And would you - in order to achieve reunification - recognize the present leaders of the East Zone government as conferees, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	30%	44%	26%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	34	53	13	804
Women	27	37	36	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	28	43	29	1460
Beyond elementary	37	51	12	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	18	34	48	157
150 to 299 DM	29	41	30	347
300 to 399 DM	29	45	26	381
400 to 499 DM	33	46	21	315
500 DM and more	34	49	17	472
No answer	23	37	40	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	35	54	11	138
Somewhat active	33	51	16	481
Remainder	28	40	32	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	35	49	16	233
Middle classes	30	45	25	1019
Lower classes	28	41	31	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	33	43	24	218
25 to 34 years	32	46	22	391
35 to 44 years	30	43	27	347
45 to 54 years	32	45	23	362
55 years and over	24	44	32	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	26	63	11	38
Businessmen	34	51	15	161
White-collar workers	32	53	15	180
Skilled laborers	37	46	17	232
Semi-skilled laborers	33	48	19	169
Domestic service	22	46	32	59
Farmers; farmhands	24	51	25	127
Housewives	27	36	37	564
Pensioners; retired	25	38	37	200
Students; apprentices	37	48	15	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	29	42	29	719
Protestants	29	46	25	990
Others	28	48	24	29
No religion	54	41	5	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	30	43	27	1415
Expellees; refugees	27	49	24	369

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	26%	44%	30%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	29	42	29	520
25,000 to 99,999	32	43	25	233
100,000 and over	33	47	20	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	38	48	14	149
Lower Saxony	23	43	34	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	31	45	24	545
Hesse	23	48	29	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	34	41	25	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	25	48	27	263
Bavaria	33	39	28	331

"Would you be willing - for the sake of re-unification - to accept the present leaders of the East Zone government as members of an all-German government, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	23%	49%	28%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27	57	16	804
Women	19	44	37	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	21	48	31	1460
Beyond elementary	29	59	12	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	14	38	48	157
150 to 299 DM	24	47	29	347
300 to 399 DM	23	51	26	381
400 to 499 DM	24	52	24	315
500 DM and more	25	54	21	472
No answer	16	42	42	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	32	56	12	138
Somewhat active	26	55	19	481
Remainder	20	47	33	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	28	56	16	233
Middle classes	22	50	28	1019
Lower classes	22	46	32	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	22	50	28	218
25 to 34 years	24	53	23	391
35 to 44 years	23	50	27	347
45 to 54 years	27	49	24	362
55 years and over	19	46	35	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	26	63	11	38
Businessmen	27	53	20	161
White-collar workers	27	57	16	180
Skilled laborers	29	52	19	232
Semi-skilled laborers	21	58	21	169
Domestic service	17	47	36	59
Farmers; farmhands	20	53	27	127
Housewives	20	43	37	564
Pensioners; retired	19	44	37	200
Students; apprentices	28	54	18	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	19	49	32	719
Protestants	24	50	26	990
Others	21	58	21	29
No religion	46	43	11	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	23	48	29	1415
Expellees; refugees	21	54	25	369

(Cont'd on next page)

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	18%	51%	31%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	20	49	31	520
25,000 to 99,999	27	45	28	233
100,000 and over	27	51	22	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	26	60	14	149
Lower Saxony	21	45	34	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	22	51	27	545
Hesse	23	49	28	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	24	47	29	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	24	45	31	263
Bavaria	22	50	28	331

"And would you be willing - for the sake of reunification - to accept some other non-democratic form of government, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	8%	65%	27%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	9	76	15	804
Women	7	56	37	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	7	63	30	1460
Beyond elementary	10	76	14	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	7	51	42	157
150 to 299 DM	6	64	30	347
300 to 399 DM	8	67	25	381
400 to 499 DM	10	70	20	315
500 DM and more	10	69	21	472
No answer	4	50	46	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:①</u>				
Very active	8	85	7	138
Somewhat active	8	76	16	481
Remainder	8	58	34	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	11	72	17	233
Middle classes	8	66	26	1019
Lower classes	6	62	32	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	6	68	26	218
25 to 34 years	7	70	23	391
35 to 44 years	8	64	28	347
45 to 54 years	10	64	26	362
55 years and over	7	62	31	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	11	81	8	38
Businessmen	7	69	24	161
White-collar workers	9	72	19	180
Skilled laborers	6	78	16	232
Semi-skilled laborers	11	72	17	169
Domestic service	5	56	39	59
Farmers; farmhands	9	62	29	127
Housewives	8	56	36	564
Pensioners; retired	8	57	35	200
Students; apprentices	5	78	17	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	7	63	30	719
Protestants	8	66	26	990
Others	21	55	24	29
No religion	20	70	10	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	8	64	28	1415
Expellees; refugees	7	69	24	369

(Cont'd on next page)

① Determined by political and organizational participation.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	8%	63%	29%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	7	64	29	520
25,000 to 99,999	10	67	23	233
100,000 and over	8	67	25	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	8	82	10	149
Lower Saxony	12	53	35	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	7	64	29	545
Hesse	9	64	27	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	9	61	30	122
Baden/Wurttemberg	8	68	24	263
Bavaria	7	65	28	331

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"And would you be willing - for the sake of reunification at the present time - to accept an all-German election which would not be as free as those here in West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	11%	64%	25%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	12	74	14	804
Women	10	55	35	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	10	62	28	1460
Beyond elementary	15	73	12	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	6	46	48	157
150 to 299 DM	13	59	28	347
300 to 399 DM	13	63	24	381
400 to 499 DM	10	69	21	315
500 DM and more	11	72	17	472
No answer	9	48	43	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	14	76	10	138
Somewhat active	11	74	15	481
Remainder	10	59	31	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	15	71	14	233
Middle classes	9	66	25	1019
Lower classes	12	57	31	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	13	64	23	218
25 to 34 years	12	66	22	391
35 to 44 years	10	66	24	347
45 to 54 years	13	63	24	362
55 years and over	8	61	31	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	11	78	11	38
Businessmen	12	68	20	161
White-collar workers	12	74	14	180
Skilled laborers	12	74	14	232
Semi-skilled laborers	10	67	23	169
Domestic service	12	56	32	59
Farmers; farmhands	13	59	28	127
Housewives	10	56	34	564
Pensioners; retired	9	56	35	200
Students; apprentices	13	76	11	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	10	60	30	719
Protestants	11	67	22	990
Others	21	62	17	29
No religion	11	69	20	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	11	62	27	1415
Expellees; refugees	9	70	21	369

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	14%	58%	28%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	10	60	30	520
25,000 to 99,999	11	67	22	233
100,000 and over	9	71	20	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	8	83	9	149
Lower Saxony	14	53	33	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	8	66	26	545
Hesse	16	62	22	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	9	64	27	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	63	25	263
Bavaria	12	60	28	331

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"And would you - for the sake of reunification - accept withdrawal of NATO forces from Germany with thereby lessened security, if Russian troops would leave East Germany at the same time?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	60%	16%	24%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	71	17	12	804
Women	52	14	34	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	59	15	26	1460
Beyond elementary	68	18	14	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	47	13	40	157
150 to 299 DM	58	15	27	347
300 to 399 DM	63	15	22	381
400 to 499 DM	65	16	19	315
500 DM and more	64	19	17	472
No answer	50	9	41	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	76	16	8	138
Somewhat active	68	19	13	481
Remainder	56	14	30	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	66	19	15	233
Middle classes	61	15	24	1019
Lower classes	58	14	28	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	66	13	21	218
25 to 34 years	65	16	19	391
35 to 44 years	62	15	23	347
45 to 54 years	61	17	22	362
55 years and over	53	16	31	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	71	13	16	38
Businessmen	63	15	22	161
White-collar workers	68	20	12	180
Skilled laborers	68	19	13	232
Semi-skilled laborers	71	17	12	169
Domestic service	54	14	32	59
Farmers; farmhands	66	13	21	127
Housewives	51	14	35	564
Pensioners; retired	53	14	33	200
Students; apprentices	72	13	15	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	54	17	29	719
Protestants	64	15	21	990
Others	76	7	17	29
No religion	78	11	11	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	60	15	25	1415
Expellees; refugees	64	16	20	369

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	60%	14%	26%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	60	14	26	520
25,000 to 99,999	58	21	21	233
100,000 and over	63	16	21	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	72	15	13	149
Lower Saxony	60	10	30	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	61	13	26	545
Hesse	52	22	26	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	50	26	24	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	69	12	19	263
Bavaria	55	20	25	331

"Would you also be for reunification if free elections would be held in the East Zone on conditions that West Germany recognize the Oder/Neisse line as the final Eastern border, thus giving up the Eastern territories for good?"

	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	10%	67%	23%...100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	11	75	14	804
Women	9	60	31	980
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	9	66	25	1460
Beyond elementary	14	72	14	324
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	6	57	37	157
150 to 299 DM	8	65	27	347
300 to 399 DM	10	69	21	381
400 to 499 DM	11	71	18	315
500 DM and more	12	71	17	472
No answer	8	53	39	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	12	75	13	138
Somewhat active	10	79	11	481
Remainder	10	61	29	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	13	71	16	233
Middle classes	10	68	22	1019
Lower classes	9	63	28	532
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	13	66	21	218
25 to 34 years	8	72	20	391
35 to 44 years	12	66	22	347
45 to 54 years	12	66	22	362
55 years and over	7	65	28	466
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	21	63	16	38
Businessmen	14	63	23	161
White-collar workers	10	76	14	180
Skilled laborers	7	81	12	232
Semi-skilled laborers	12	71	17	169
Domestic service	8	61	31	59
Farmers; farmhands	10	65	25	127
Housewives	8	62	30	564
Pensioners; retired	12	59	29	200
Students; apprentices	15	70	15	54
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9	65	26	719
Protestants	10	69	21	990
Others	28	62	10	29
No religion	24	61	15	46
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	10	65	25	1415
Expellees; refugees	8	76	16	369

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	<u>Yes, would</u>	<u>No, would not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	8%	66%	26%...100%	510
2,000 to 24,999	11	64	25	520
25,000 to 99,999	9	73	18	233
100,000 and over	12	68	20	521
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	11	78	11	149
Lower Saxony	4	68	28	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	7	72	21	545
Hesse	5	74	21	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	9	64	27	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	16	60	24	263
Bavaria	16	56	28	331

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Section IV. - Party Preference

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

IF "CDU/CSU":

"Supposing Chancellor Adenauer would retire from politics, would you still cast your vote for the CDU/CSU, or wouldn't you do so any longer?"

	Yes, vote even not CDU/CSU	No, for any longer	No of opinion asked	Not opinion asked	No. of cases
					for CDU/CSU

<u>Total Population</u>	25%	1%	5%	69%..100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	22	1	5	72	804
Women	27	1	5	67	980
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	25	1	5	69	1460
Beyond elementary	23	1	5	71	324
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	24	*	9	67	157
150 to 299 DM	24	2	4	70	347
300 to 399 DM	22	2	4	72	381
400 to 499 DM	25	2	5	68	315
500 DM and more	28	1	4	67	472
No answer	17	1	7	75	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	22	4	9	65	138
Somewhat active	25	2	4	69	481
Remainder	24	1	5	70	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	28	1	3	68	233
Middle classes	24	1	6	69	1019
Lower classes	24	1	4	71	532
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	20	1	5	74	218
25 to 34 years	24	1	5	70	391
35 to 44 years	20	2	5	73	347
45 to 54 years	26	2	4	68	362
55 years and over	29	1	5	65	466
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	29	3	10	58	38
Businessmen	22	2	6	70	161
White-collar workers	25	2	4	69	180
Skilled laborers	18	1	4	77	232
Semi-skilled laborers	15	1	4	80	169
Domestic service	22	-	3	75	59
Farmers; farmhands	35	1	9	55	127
Housewives	26	1	5	68	564
Pensioners; retired	30	1	4	65	200
Students; apprentices	23	-	8	69	54
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	38	2	6	54	719
Protestants	15	1	4	80	990
Others	7	-	-	93	29
No religion	15	2	7	76	46

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* Less than one half of one per cent

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	<u>Yes,</u> vote even then for <u>CDU/CSU</u>	<u>No,</u> not vote for <u>CDU/CSU</u>	<u>No</u> <u>any longer</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	25%	1%	5%	69%	1415
Expellees; refugees	23	1	6	70	369
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	28	1	8	63	510
2,000 to 24,999	23	2	3	72	520
25,000 to 99,999	23	*	3	74	233
100,000 and over	23	1	5	71	521
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	23	1	5	71	149
Lower Saxony	20	1	5	74	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	29	1	7	63	545
Hesse	13	1	3	83	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	24	-	6	70	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	20	2	4	74	263
Bavaria	29	1	5	65	331

* Less than one half of one per cent

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

IF "None" or "No opinion":

"If elections for the Bundestag would be held tomorrow:
For which party would you cast your vote?"

IF "CDU/CSU" not named in answer to the above questions:

"As you know, in the fall of 1957 elections for the
Bundestag will be held once more.

Supposing Chancellor Adenauer should retire from
politics, would you then perhaps be more inclined to
vote for the CDU/CSU, or wouldn't you do so even then?
(Would definitely or only perhaps vote for the
CDU/CSU?) (Would definitely not or only probably would
not vote for the CDU/CSU?)"

	De- finite- ly would	Prob- ably would	Most de- finitely would	Un- de- cided	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Total Population</u>	1%	4%	3%	33%	28%	31%..100% 1784
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	1	5	4	40	22	28 804
Women	1	3	3	28	32	33 980
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	1	4	3	33	28	31 1460
Beyond elementary	1	6	5	35	24	29 324
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	-	3	4	25	35	33 157
150 to 299 DM	*	3	3	31	33	30 347
300 to 399 DM	1	5	4	35	27	28 381
400 to 499 DM	2	4	3	38	21	32 315
500 DM and more	1	5	5	34	22	33 472
No answer	1	2	2	25	45	25 112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> ②						
Very active	4	5	4	35	17	35 138
Somewhat active	1	6	3	37	22	31 481
Remainder	1	3	4	31	31	30 1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	*	7	4	30	27	32 233
Middle classes	1	4	3	34	26	32 1019
Lower classes	1	3	4	34	29	29 532
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	1	4	3	34	32	26 218
25 to 34 years	1	5	4	38	22	30 391
35 to 44 years	1	5	4	31	32	27 347
45 to 54 years	1	4	4	35	24	32 362
55 years and over	1	3	3	29	29	35 466

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* Less than one half of one per cent.

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	<u>De-</u> <u>finite-</u> <u>ly</u> <u>would</u>	<u>Perh</u> <u>aps</u> <u>would</u>	<u>Prob-</u> <u>ably</u> <u>would</u> <u>not</u>	<u>finitely</u> <u>would</u> <u>not</u>	<u>Un-</u> <u>de-</u> <u>cided</u>	<u>Most de-</u> <u>Not</u> <u>asked</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	-%		5%	3%	26%	24%	42%..100% 38
Businessmen	-		9	6	30	25	30 161
White-collar workers	1		7	6	31	24	31 180
Skilled laborers	3		3	3	48	20	23 232
Semi-skilled laborers	2		5	2	46	25	20 169
Domestic service	-		3	3	32	37	25 59
Farmers; farmhands	1		4	4	24	22	45 127
Housewives	1		2	3	30	32	32 564
Pensioners; retired	1		2	4	29	29	35 200
Students; apprentices	-		4	2	24	39	31 54
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	*		3	3	25	23	46 719
Protestants	1		5	5	38	31	20 990
Others	4		7	-	41	41	7 29
No religion	2		-	2	57	15	24 46
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	1		4	3	33	28	31 1415
Expellees; refugees	*		6	4	36	24	30 369
<u>City Size:</u>							
Up to 1,999	*		4	3	30	26	37 510
2,000 to 24,999	2		2	3	32	33	28 520
25,000 to 99,999	-		5	5	44	20	26 233
100,000 and over	1		5	4	34	27	29 521
<u>Land:</u>							
Schleswig/Holstein,							
Hamburg, Bremen	-		5	7	40	19	29 149
Lower Saxony	1		2	3	23	45	26 214
North Rhine/Westphalia	*		4	3	30	26	37 545
Hesse	2		6	1	40	34	17 160
Rhineland/Palatinate	-		5	3	40	22	30 122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	3		4	6	31	30	26 263
Bavaria	*		4	2	39	20	35 331

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"Do you believe the CDU/CSU will win these elections again, even if Dr. Adenauer would retire from politics, or do you believe the CDU/CSU would then not win these elections?"

	CDU/CSU will win even without Dr. Adenauer	CDU/CSU will not win without Dr. Adenauer	CDU/CSU will not win even with Dr. No Adenauer	No. of opinion	No. of cases
<u>Total Population</u>	27%	13%	18%	42%..100%	1784
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28	15	25	32	804
Women	25	11	12	52	980
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	25	13	17	45	1460
Beyond elementary	30	16	21	33	324
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	20	10	13	57	157
150 to 299 DM	25	16	15	44	347
300 to 399 DM	27	15	17	41	381
400 to 499 DM	29	12	20	39	315
500 DM and more	30	12	21	37	472
No answer	16	12	12	60	112
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	28	16	24	32	138
Somewhat active	30	16	22	32	481
Remainder	25	12	15	48	1165
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	26	15	18	41	233
Middle classes	28	14	18	40	1019
Lower classes	23	11	18	48	532
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	16	16	18	50	218
25 to 34 years	36	12	18	34	391
35 to 44 years	23	17	17	43	347
45 to 54 years	25	12	21	42	362
55 years and over	27	11	16	46	466
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	24	18	21	37	38
Businessmen	27	17	19	37	161
White-collar workers	31	18	20	31	180
Skilled laborers	25	15	24	36	232
Semi-skilled laborers	25	13	25	37	169
Domestic service	22	12	15	51	59
Farmers; farmhands	35	17	12	36	127
Housewives	26	10	13	51	564
Pensioners; retired	24	11	16	49	200
Students; apprentices	20	11	26	43	54
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	31	12	13	44	719
Protestants	24	14	20	42	990
Others	14	14	27	45	29
No religion	15	17	31	37	46

(Cont'd on next page)

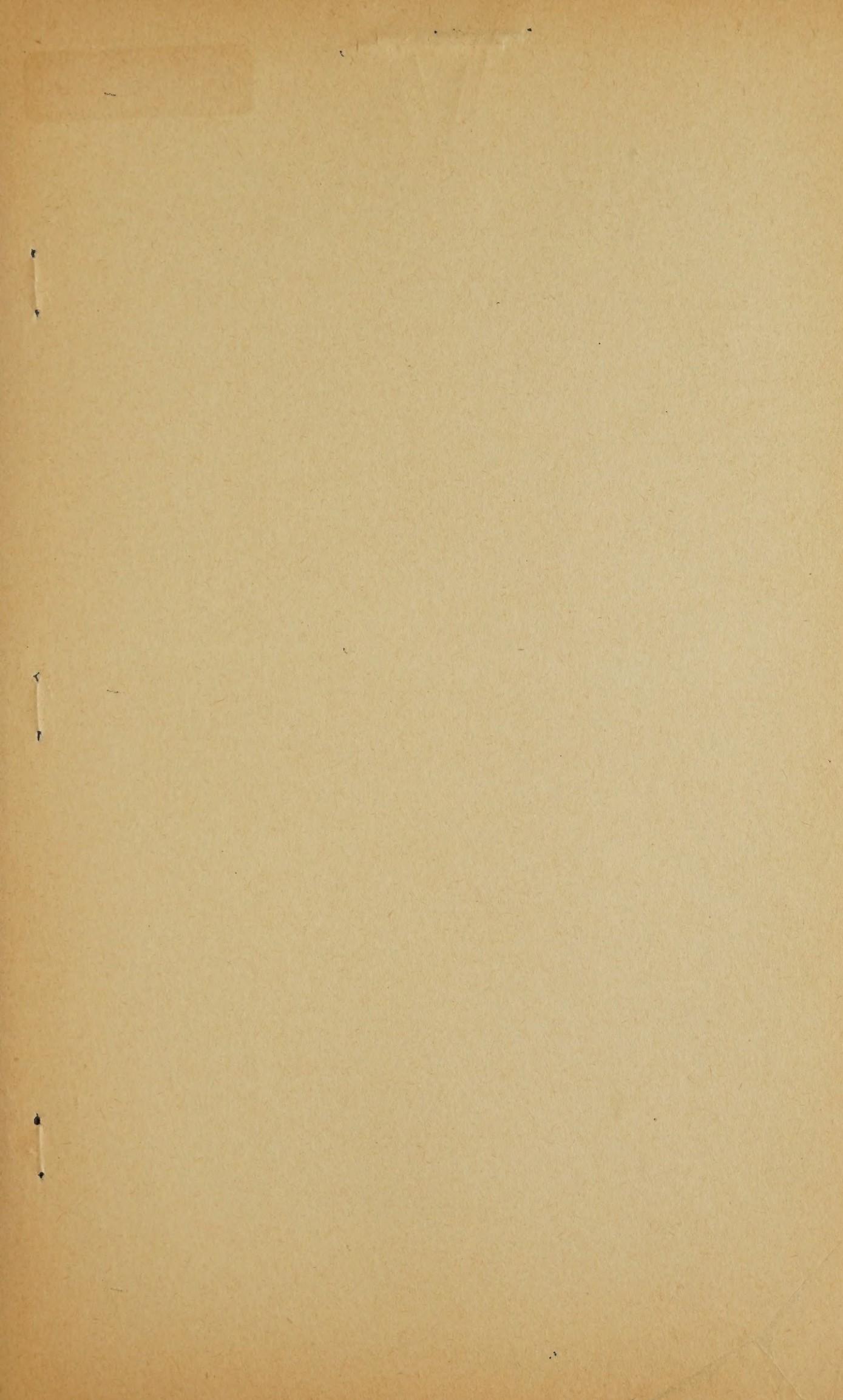
@ Determined by political and organizational participation

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	<u>CDU/CSU will win even without Dr. Adenauer</u>	<u>CDU/CSU will not win even without Dr. Adenauer</u>	<u>CDU/CSU win even with Dr. No Adenauer</u>	<u>No. of opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	26%	13%	18%	43%..100%	1415
Expellees;refugees	29	14	16	41	369
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	30	13	12	45	510
2,000 to 24,999	26	13	16	45	520
25,000 to 99,999	19	11	31	39	233
100,000 and over	26	16	19	39	521
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	28	18	24	30	149
Lower Saxony	20	10	16	54	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	25	12	19	44	545
Hesse	21	12	15	52	160
Rhineland/Palatinate	31	12	19	38	122
Baden/Wuerttemberg	28	16	16	40	263
Bavaria	32	15	15	38	331

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